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# East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 2019

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## NEW EQUIPMENT, TECHNIQUES EARMARKED FOR PRINTING INDUSTRY

Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 7 May 82 p 3

[Article by Hajri Hoxha, director of the printing combine in Tirana: "Our Printing Presses"]

[Excerpts] This year, our printers are celebrating the 35th anniversary of the creation of the printing presses, those beloved means of disseminating the light of the party and the teachings of Marxism-Leninism and of Comrade Enver Hoxha, and of spreading our culture and knowledge. The concern of the party for the development of art and culture is embodied in the expansion and modernization of the printing presses. The printing combine alone has 16 printing presses in Tirana and in the districts. Most of the printers in the country work in these presses. At the present time, 30 newspapers and 52 reviews and bulletins are being published.

The printing presses of the printing combine, on the basis of specialization, publish all the central and local newspapers. They also publish reviews and albums, ideological, political, educational, artistic, and technical-scientific bulletins, and fliers. Since 1965 our printing presses have been publishing newspapers, reviews and books in seven foreign languages. New sectors which did not exist before the Liberation, such as zincography, black and white and color offset printing, etc., have been created.

All the necessary working conditions have been created for the printers. Almost all the buildings and environs are newly-built or renovated. An intermediate level printing school was opened up alongside the combine; two health centers and a cultural, artistic and sports center have been set up.

The 8th party congress set tasks for the qualitative and quantitative improvement of the publications. Therefore the management of the combine, in executing the tasks set for the party organizations, has been implementing some measures aimed at promoting innovative ideas and technical and scientific thought. With our own forces, we will take further steps in the printing industry during the 7th five-year plan. For example, new processes of typesetting will be introduced through the use of methods of photosetting; the offset press will be automatically prepared for colored and opaque transparencies and the processes of simple and special book-binding will be further automated. The ZERI I POPULLIT printing press will be equipped with offset press technologies and equipment, with a number of inks and with programmed preparation. The printing of photocopies of handouts will be improved and colored printing and deep printing will be used. This will result in an increase in the number of titles of publications, a reduction in the length of the publication cycle and an improvement in the quality of newspapers, reviews, books and handouts.

FILM DIRECTORS, REVIEWERS CRITICIZED FOR APPROACH TO SOCIALIST ART

Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 7 May 82p 3

[Article by Vladimir Karakashev: "On the Film 'A Woman of 33'"]

[Text] The successes of our socialist cinematography are well known. Our movie makers stood up straight, rejected some dogmatic-sectarian prejudices and made films which earned proper recognition at home and abroad, particularly after the historical April plenum. During the past year or two alone, in connection with the celebration of the 1,300th anniversary of the founding of Bulgaria, we saw outstanding motion pictures, among which the film "Asparukh," which was tremendously popular stand out. This is convincing proof of the ideological and artistic maturity of the Bulgarian movie makers. However, it has been frequently pointed out that mastery of the complex features of a modern theme and the depiction of our many-faceted socialist reality on the "large" and "small" screen remains an unsatisfactorily resolved problem by Bulgarian cinematographers despite isolated successes.

We know that, as the most widespread and popular of all arts, the motion picture has an exceptionally broad range of influence over millions of viewers. That is precisely why we have no right to show irresponsibility or to adopt lowered ideological and esthetic criteria or display official optimism toward some negative facts of our motion pictures, which cause justifiable concern.

The film "A Woman of 33" (directed by Khristo Khristov, scenario by Boyan Papazov), which is currently being shown on our screens, is one more proof of the serious difficulties which exist in the artistic depiction of our socialist reality and the durability of some erroneous ideological trends, which are manifested in some of our works of literature and the arts. In this sense, "A Woman of 33" is, in my deeply felt conviction, symptomatic. Its concept as an idea, the stand taken by the authors toward the problems and conflicts in our reality, method used in developing the system of artistic characters, desired type of emotional atmosphere, etc., should all be considered within the context of some negative processes and trends in the development of our contemporary socialist art.

Director Khristo Khristov needs no introduction to the Bulgarian reader and viewer. He has created memorable theater and motion picture works. Films such as "The Iconostasis" (co-directed with Todor Dinov), "The Anvil or the

Hammer" and "Tree Without Roots" are Bulgarian motion picture accomplishments. They show Khristov as a profoundly erudite and thinking creative worker and experimenter persistently seeking new forms and means of expression. However, the last several films made by this noted Bulgarian director have justifiably led to speculation about a crisis in his creative development. A certain amount of self-seeking searches in the area of image plasticity in "The Cyclops" and the use of a deliberately complex motion picture "language" opened a wide gap between the film and the audience. These weaknesses were intensified in "The Truck." Naturalistic tendencies, the artificial search for essentially biological motivations for the characters' behavior and a strange directorial passion for giving an esthetic value to what is ugly and base in life predetermined the failure of this gloomy film in which roams a spirit of hopelessness and doom.

The ambitious idea underlying Khristo Khristov's "A Woman of 33" is to make a sociopsychological cut through several layers of our contemporary society by describing the dramatic fate of a young "single mother." Clearly, the authors had no intention whatsoever of making a sentimental situation film exclusively focused on the life of Minka Stoeva -- the main character. Papazov's and Khristov's intention was to give us a relatively broader picture of social mores, i.e., to make an active projection of Stoeva's life against the background of our socialist reality. The plot's structure is such that we see the heroine in diametrically opposite environments in terms of atmosphere and spirit. She talks with people belonging to various social strata, from Professor Ponev, the director of the institute in which she works as a secretary, the scientific associates and the students at the hostel where she lives, to her former husband Acho, who is a scoundrel and even to the MVR sergeant who, as willed by the film's makers, is successfully combining his official duties with...tailoring... Minka is trying to find herself as a person among such people who belong to different strata in our society. Briefly stated, she is trying to find a meaning for her life, and happiness. It is thus that "A Woman of 33" presents us with the classical artistic dilemma of man versus society.

A significant event in the film is the following: the collective of the scientific institute in which Stoeva works appears to have gone on a hike; actually, it has been dragged into it by its boss, the omniscient Professor Ponev, who wants to display to his subordinates his skill as a...marksman. It is precisely at this point that we come across said event: the big pack of enraged dogs tearing apart a small fox locked in a cage. The institute's personnel, virtually enraptured, are observing this bloody and cruel scene with obvious pleasure. The event is not accidental. It takes place toward the end of the film, serving as the "joker in the pack," clarifying the thought behind everything we have seen so far, leading us to specific sociophylosophical summations. In a word, this metaphor (a rather transparent hint), draws a clear parallel between the savage laws which govern the animal world and the mores in our socialist society. The conclusion inspired by the film is categorical: the difference between the mores of either world lies only in the forms which reveal the "laws of the jungle" which, according to the authors, are universal. Minka Stoeva, the peasant girl who came to the big city to find herself as a person, Minka Stoeva, the daughter of an active antifascist, a good and honest woman in her fashion, Minka Stoeva, a



loving mother who wants to build her life by honorable means, is faced with an endless sea of immorality, coarseness, violence, demonstratively paraded careerism and militant cynicism, faces, again by the will of the authors, the insurmountable barriers of evil in our reality. In this sense, the metaphor of the dogs and the fox can be unraveled quite simply: Stoeva is threatened with the danger of being "torn to pieces" by the "mafia" surrounding Professor Ponev unless she is willing to sacrifice her dignity, obey and bow to its cruel and immoral imperatives. At that point in the film, a strange metamorphosis occurs in the heroine's behavior. Henceforth, her actions will clearly illustrate the familiar saying that one must be a wolf among wolves... Quite unexpectedly Minka adopts the "rules of the game," as imposed by the institute's "mafia." She adopts the "law of the jungle," and begins to strike back: she behaves arrogantly, threatens Professor Ponev, blackmails him, threatens to expose all unseemly actions she is aware of and, in general, "counterattacks," totally oblivious of the stipulations of our morality. The strangest thing here is that it is precisely as of that point that Stoeva's horizon seems to brighten gradually! She proudly leaves the department in which she worked as a secretary, moves to another position, does not lose her apartment, and is even on the verge of becoming a party member!

Several justifiable questions arise at this point: do the prerequisites and facts, which entitle the type of modern woman Stoeva represents to the right to become an artistic subject, objectively exist in our reality? Should our socialist literature and art remain outside the conflict between individual and society? Is there a place in our contemporary art for interpreting a topic such as, let us say, man's loneliness? Are some intimate, personal, purely human facets of a private existence not taboo for the socialist artist? The questions seem rhetorical, but in the case of "A Woman of 33" it is extremely necessary to give them a categorical answer. For, as we know, there are people who will use any occasion in which a work which follows the so-called "critical direction" (which includes Khristo Khristov's film) is justifiably criticized, to complain, object and even to express their "indignation" at the alleged return to the bygone period of dogmatism and the advent of some sort of "stagnation", manifested by primitivism and a simplistic understanding of the specifics of art. Generally speaking, such charges should be dismissed with the help of our sense of humor. Sometimes, however, the snobbish pretentiousness of some supporters of the so-called "broad" understanding of the method of socialist realism becomes quite provocative and even arrogant...

Indeed, denying the socialist artist the right to penetrate into an intimate personal life would be a manifestation of dogmatic oversimplification. Charging the makers of "A Woman of 33" with pessimism merely for criticizing actually existing shady aspects in our socialist reality or depriving them of the possibility of satirically exposing negative social trends, which create prerequisites for the resurrection of some sinister characters and which Maxim Gor'kiy described in his time as "the unburied dead" of socialist reality, may be taken as an attempt to restore obsolete concepts. The kind of artistic representation of our many-faceted socialist reality by creative workers, which would demand of them to dole out precise doses of "positive"

and "negative" features, or the kind of short-sighted fear of pessimism resulting in sentimental affectation and showy optimism would indicate a return to the notorious "nonconflict theory." Our party's April line demands of the creators of spiritual values the truth, the unadorned, profound and comprehensive truth of our socialist life aimed at the future! Truth is what the method of socialist realism demands of any talented creative worker who tries honestly, not on the bases of prevailing circumstances but with deep internal conviction to enrich our contemporary literature and art. The party and its Central Committee have set frequent examples of uncompromising yet constructive criticism. "To us satire is necessary, very necessary, vitally necessary in the struggle for the assertion of the new, the education of man, and the struggle for the elimination of the shortcomings, weaknesses, errors and negative features in our life," Comrade Todor Zhivkov said. These thoughts provide a real program for the creative workers to engage daringly, far-sightedly and with revolutionary optimism in an offensive against the "small" truth in our lives. What is the main thing here? Above all, it is the position of the creative worker -- his moral, civic, party-minded position! This must be a position conceived not speculatively but as the conscious emotional attitude of the creative worker toward the depicted object, a position which commits his mind and his heart. There can be no separation between it and the class-party criteria with which the artist penetrates into the complex processes of life and assesses its trends and individual personalities. The class-party criteria are the yardstick with which phenomena are not only simply noted and analyzed but in the course of which their development and future are brought to light.

I am aware of the fact that these are known and familiar truths of our Marxist-Leninist esthetics. But alas, we know that it is the simple truths which are the hardest to accept.... What matters in this case is to remember yet once again that in the absence of these class-party criteria even the most talented creative worker inevitably falls into empiricism, absolutizing in his works the "isolated case" raising it to the level of a universal sociophilosophical summation, or else stopping at the level of a one-sided statement in satirizing social mores. In my view, this is the situation in which the makers of "A Woman of 33" have found themselves. Let me immediately point out that I have no reason to question Papazov's and Khristov's sincere intentions and effort to create a work saturated with uncompromising critical passion. Obviously, however, subjective intentions and objective results have not dovetailed. In their postface, Papazov and Khristov intimate that their work is perhaps based on a fact, that a likely incident similar to Stoeva's may have been used. This may be so. However, it is a basic truth that realistic art is not the slave of isolated facts, and that it is not the facts but their artistic summation which plays the decisive role in such art. Papazov's scenario is a collection (quite automatic in places) of "possible" facts and vignettes of reality which, put together, create a schematized, deformed and artificially structured negative image of our socialist reality, an image in which the real proportions between the great and the "small" truth have been violated.

It is logical for the untruth in a work to become an irritating artistic falsehood. In "A Woman of 33" this falsehood is further enhanced by a

sequence of not quite "uplifted" sexual scenes and trite witticisms in an otherwise superficially informative dialogue.

Most of the film's characters have been made the victims of an intentional proposition. Minka Stoeva's personality is presented in relatively greater detail. Let us emphasize that Christo Khristov's directing skill and Lilyana Kevacheva's good acting have resulted in the creation of some successful scenes. At some points the actress and the director succeed in bringing us close to Stoeva's inner world, hinting that complex inner movements are taking place in her soul and that she has a strong feeling of dignity, honesty and duty to her father's ideals. However, the film's authors are unable to sustain this line of complex psychological presentation of her character. Their good intentions are spoiled by the preset thesis. As the plot develops, and as we approach the end of the story the fact that it is by the will of the...authors rather than as the result of her organic reactions that the heroine seeks support and a solution to the problems which are torturing her within a painful perimeter of reality, which starts with religion (the episode in the church) and ends with mysticism (the episode with the fortune-teller), begins to disturb and even irritate us with its insistent bias. Such is Minka's small and impoverished world, depressing for its lack of spirituality. Such are the extremely narrowed horizons of an uninspired character who, as conceived by her creators, has all the required qualities for joining...the communist party. Generally speaking, the fate of the heroine is let to develop in some kind of time abstraction, which is distant and alien to the dynamic constructive excitement of our socialist reality dominated by a collectivistic spirit, a reality which is not deprived of contradictions and drama but which is also full of the social optimism of the working people, a reality in which everything is being done for the sake of man and in the name of man. Was it possible for the echoes of this great and bright life not to be felt both throughout the atmosphere of the film and the behavior, thoughts and feelings of a woman of the people such as Stoeva somehow and strictly by the logic of human nature? Or is it that the authors of "A Woman of 33" consider that the "reflection of life" may be detected in the almost parodied and extremely schematic character of "Comrade Popova," the institute's party secretary, who asks Minka a couple of times, in a bored tone of voice, if she needs something....

The authors' position, which appears "consistent" up to a point, becomes frankly shocking in the final part of the film: Stoeva "gives up" and, fully adopting the style of her environment, attacks Professor Ponev and his retinue. No psychological preparation leads to this change in her behavior. This, however, is not the worst. The worst is that now we, the viewers, are of two minds in assessing the moral features of the heroine with whom we managed to sympathize up to then. We have reason to ask ourselves: has the process of moral erosion already affected this spiritually pure (as intended by the authors) woman? Is it that Papazov and Khristov want to show us her final surrender to the forces of evil? Has the lack of moral stoicism in Stoeva turned into open cynicism? In the final account, is she perhaps an equally indivisible part of an environment of immoralists? Naturally, these questions arise not as a result of the internal complexity and psychologically conflicting Stoeva's human nature but of the artistically unconvincing manner in which the authors have developed this character.



Unfortunately, once again we saw in the reviews of "A Woman of 33" the familiar praises instead of principled criticism. Once again our critics have preferred publicity to profound analysis. Thoughtless praise has replaced a sober assessment and vague considerations on the subject of "feminist" and other topics have taken the place of clear class-party criteria. But before I speak of the critics (naturally, a differentiation is necessary at this point), in my view it is high time to ask ourselves something else: how long will some editors continue to accept ideologically amorphous articles and reviews? How long will some responsible units in newspapers, periodicals, radio and television -- the main areas in which public opinion is made -- continue to accept only precisely defined one-sided and erroneous ideological and esthetic evaluations of processes and phenomena in our socialist culture? Do these units have a position, a clear-cut political line? This is a legitimate question, for we frequently come across unequivocal manifestations of a happy state of unity between incompetence and political liberalism. In my view, this has been confirmed once again with "A Woman of 33."

Our press was flooded with praising reviews. Once again, it was NARODNA KULTURA which went out of its way. It carried in its No 16 of 16 April 1982 issue an article significantly entitled "Cinderella and the Princes," in which we read no more and no less than the film's makers have "spiritualized and presented on the screen a bit of reality in an exceptionally truthful and complex manner," and that in Mika Stoeva's case "it is obviously a question not only of a firm and well-rounded (!?) character but of something far greater -- a clearly realized social and civic reflex (!?) which makes it possible for the main character not only to ensure her self-survival but to proclaim and defend an uncompromising (!?) social position." The magazine FILMOVI NOVINI (No 3, 1982) offers its own assessment. Here again, despite some critical remarks, Khristo Khristov's film is described in superlatives as a picture which "exposes boldly, with civic alarm and concern spiritual filth, corruption, careerism, and dishonorable machinations... A film which looks at the problems of the modern woman with a deep humanistic feeling and involvement," and which "does honor to scenario writer Boyan Papazov and director Khristo Khristov for aiming such criticism at the male half of humanity (!?) and such great understanding of, and insight and sympathy for women who, although 'emancipated' in fact remain more vulnerable." As we usually say in such cases, no comment. Finally, we have the review in KINOSPEKTUR (No 12, 1982), which is a joint publication of the newspaper VECHERNI NOVINI and the Film Distribution State Enterprise, in which departmental enthusiasm rises to an almost pathetic level in order to convince us that "the character's memorable replica 'I want so little,' voiced with a child's eyes turned toward happiness (even though transient) reflects the pain of the makers. The power of the story, however, is in the optimistic faith in man, in the call for sincerity and warmth..." We, the readers, although not "staring with the eyes of a child," are puzzled by such striking disparities between our normal realistic and esthetic perceptions and tastes and the assessments we find in some articles and reactions of people who claim to express public opinion.

Let me repeat, in conclusion, that it would be mistaken to consider "A Woman of 33" an isolated case of some negative processes and trends in our contemporary socialist literature and art. As I pointed out, it is very deep

conviction that this work is symptomatic. Of what? Quite frequently, particularly of late, people have repeatedly "reassured" us that some works containing destructive sociopolitical tendencies are "isolated" and "accidental phenomena," and that such works do not shape our socialist art or characterize its general development. Yes, it is not such works that shape our socialist art. This is as unquestionable as is the fact that quantitative criteria are not decisive in the complex and delicate area of spiritual life.

The BCP Central Committee accountability report to the 12th congress states that "the creative workers obtain the professional assessments they need from literary critics and art experts. However, we cannot claim that our critique has reached the necessary level and is fulfilling its responsible vocation. We must discuss and write in a more principled and bolder way about the absence of a class assessment, the impoverishment of the spiritual image of our contemporary, loss of historical perspective, the sinking of the creative worker into the pettiness of common events, oblivious of the major, the main features of reality."

That is precisely why it is a matter of concern that many such "isolated" and "accidental" works are being praised by some critics in a spirit of ideological light-heartedness and bureaucratic optimism, and are even receiving awards at the rather numerous contests and festivals held in our country, while surrounded by unhealthy advertizing and even sensationalism. To me, such alarming phenomena, which have appeared of late particularly in literature and the theater, unquestionably indicate strong manifestations of ideological amorphousness and political infantilism in some central areas. In a time of intensifying ideological struggle, we remain the slaves of ideological and esthetic preconceptions, which are essentially alien to the lofty principles of our socialist art and culture, our party's April line and the demands of the people.

Such are, in my opinion, the thoughts and conclusions inspired by the film "A Woman of 33."

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## 'TVORBA' ATTACKS JOHN PAUL II, POLISH EPISCOPATE

Prague TVORBA in Czech No 12, 24 Mar 82 p 6

[Article by Tibor Halecka: "The Vatican and 'Solidarity'"]

[Excerpt] Solidarity with Whom and Against Whom

Just toward the close of World War II, brought about by fascism Pope Pius XII found a new word which he used for wrapping up the old antilabor and anti-communist contents of the social encyclicals of his predecessors. This word was solidarity, by means of which the social doctrine of Catholicism was modernized into an image of Christian solidarism. Over the ruins of the war-destroyed Europe, over the graves of the millions of dead, Pope Pius XII, instead of condemning fascism, and led by fear of that which might result from the revolutionary movement of the masses after the war, proclaimed:

"The time has come to put an end to empty words and, according to the encyclical Quadragesimo Anno, to strive for a new arrangement of the people's productive forces. It means that besides differentiating between employers and employees, people have to distinguish the higher unity which unifies all of them... that is their harmony, their solidarity." Thus it is a quasi-condemnation of empty words, though again by empty words, bypassing the portion of the encyclical Quadragesimo Anno based on the support of fascism and capitalism, and covering by means of "unity" and "solidarity: the class antagonism of the capitalist society. After the war this pope propagated the collaboration of classes as a task of the trade unions in these words:

"Trade unions and trade union organizations are temporary helpers, transient forms; their purpose is unity and solidarity of employers and working people.... " Christian solidarism, which had been developed in German clericalism before, should serve now as a means of forgetting the fascist commitment of Vatican City, and that of clericalism in general. Also, the shift into morally ethical positions should be of service in creating new chances for an opportune entrance into politics.

This was the course taken also by the Neo-Ludakist propaganda of Christian solidarism in Slovakia after 1945, demonstrating a quasi third way between capitalism and socialism. They propagated the "Christian social order" as an "appeal for a joint building of general solidarity." and as a basis of "modern Christian civilization," or of the idea of "cooptive participation of workers in the business of an enterprise." That is to say, the idea which had been included in the content of bankrupt popular capitalism, propagated by the church.

Under these circumstances when we ask in what way and with whom one solidarizes in this solidarism, and against whom it is pointed, we find out that its verbal formal solidarity belongs to the workers; practical solidarity, based on the support of private property, belongs to the owners of capital; and hatred and condemnation belong to communism as to a pragmatic movement for abolition of private property and of exploitation. This is natural, because the power circles of world Catholicism have class interconnections with world capitalism. They draw from it their economic and political power, as well as possibilities of far-reaching ideological influence. This ideological influence, which next to class oppression is a significant factor in maintaining the religiousness of the masses, ensures also the conditions of ecclesiastic institutional existence of clerical powers. That is why their real solidarity with words preserving the life of a class antagonistic society and the need of religious illusions, is existentially motivated, just as is their hatred of communism.

Clerical efforts to disturb the class solidarity of the working people by means of Christian solidarism is not yet over even today. We have witnessed the renewal of ideological exploitation of Christian solidarism by the powers of clerical anticommunism in the second half of the seventies, when the official circles of world Catholicism headed by Pope John Paul II withdrew from the tactics of dialogue, and, in cooperation with American imperialism, entered an open fight against the socialist countries. A marked evidence of this trend is especially the developing crisis in the Polish People's Republic [PLR], a crisis which had been prepared under the participation of the very powers of Catholic clericalism. It is by no accident that the onset of contrarevolutionary forces in the PLR has been implemented not only under the slogan of "solidarity," but also by the body named "Solidarity."

#### Manipulating the Believers in Poland

The rising of contrarevolutionary forces in the PLR was prepared and implented under an active participation of right-wing extremists in the right-wing antisocial organization KOR [Social Self-Defense Committee], and in close cooperation with foreign centers of anticommunism in the United States, France and West Germany. However, the clerical powers did not stand aside. It is a fact that this counterrevolutionary movement was directly supported and directed by the powers of clerical anticommunism, especially by Pope John Paul II and Primate Wyszynski. Also involved was the Polish episcopate, some members of which collaborated with German fascism during the war, and even after the war this body represented a militant section of world clerical anticommunism. These forces took advantage of the troubles in the country, and since 1976 they have made active preparations for the takeover. Wojtya introduced the militant moods of Polish clericalism into the eastern policies of Vatican City. Even before his papal election he was one of those who initiated the exploitation of the clubs of the Catholic intelligentsia in the PLR for ideological preparation of the events witnesses since August of 1980. From the very beginning, the waves of strikes and public rallies of Solidarity have demonstrated that religion connected with nationalism and social demagoguery represents an ideological means for manipulating the working believers, and a consequent formation of mass bases for destructive actions. The requirements of Solidarity's rallies, included in resolutions of striking



committees, had been expressed before by the episcopate first in pastoral letters, and then by their attitude in August of 1980. From the very first days Solidarity has been supported by the church: reception of Walesa by both Wyszynski and the pope; the fact that one of Walesa's advisers was the editor-in-chief of the Catholic periodical *Wież*; preparation of Walesa's speeches by the members of the episcopate; masses served in honor of Walesa during his journey retracing the steps of the pope, etc. During the continuing struggle it was the church who--against the weakened state--also enforced the approval of establishing solidarity in the country, where it was supposed to associate private proprietors, employers and employees. The attitude of Solidarity and that of the Polish episcopate also coincided in their programs for renewing private property. These programs again were in accord with the constitutional requirement of the Second Vatican Council "*Gaudium et Spes*" to renew the right to private property wherever it has been suppressed, which in relationship to the socialist countries represents a silent incitement to contrarevolution. And a testimony to the unity of the Solidarity organization with the doctrine of Christian solidarism is also the brochure "*The Ethics of Solidarity*:" which appeared shortly after the first actions as a document prepared beforehand. This brochure conceives Christian solidarism as an ideologicopolitical basis of the Solidarity organization. However, even the circumstance that John Paul II's encyclical "*Laborem Exercens*" (On Human Labor) was also issued in this period is not accidental. This work pays special attention to the ideas of Christian solidarism. The pope, following the encyclicals of his predecessors, again sanctifies private property, repeats the idea of the unity of labor and capital, the idea of class harmony, and, opposed to the solidarity of the working people formed in the struggle against capitalism, he installs and requires a "new" solidarity as a manifestation of Christian social ethics. What is meant by this is the solidarity of proprietors and workers as a way of overcoming the conflict of labor and capital. These ideological bases were fully implemented also in the orientation of the Solidarity organization in the PLR.

These circumstances and interrelations are by no means changed by the tactics of the Polish episcopate which was supposed to put on an impression as if the church had no participation in the onset of contrarevolution. Even when laymen were supposed to dispose of the main part of the black job, the participation of the church and the clerical nature of the Solidarity organization cannot be covered up.

With whom did the Polish Solidarity solidarize in reality? No doubt with the church and with the Vatican, because it was their tool and their child. It also displayed solidarity with the centers of anticommunism in the United States and in Western Europe which it served. Its Catholic connections led also to a revanchist clerical organization in the German Federal Republic, the so-called Ackerman Society, which for a long time has been a bearer of the ideology of Christian solidarism as a means of covering up the fascist past of its members. As early as in the middle of the seventies this organization asked the Polish Catholics even to suppress patriotism on behalf of the interests of Catholic universalism, and as a revanchist organization it required the revision of the border line marked out after the war. In fact, with whom did Polish Solidarity solidarize, when after the reception of its delegation

in the Ackerman Society some of its representatives began to propagate a feigned Polish consent with the revision of the border line? With whom did Solidarity's ideological leaders and backstairs instructors solidarize, when they were ruining the economy by strikes and hindering the distribution of foodstuffs, when they took the part of terrorists, rioters and bullies, when they organized armed commandos and preparations for fratricidal fighting? On whose side was the solidarity of the Polish episcopate and the pope himself, when they supported all of this and when, after the imposition of martial law on 13 December 1981, as a status at last giving conditions for peace and consolidation, they required abolition of this status? With whom did these philanthropists solidarize, when by their policy they brought grist to the mill of the warmongering policy of Reagan's administration, and of NATO's strategic plans?

It is obvious, then, that in the past as well as today the bourgeois and clerical propagators of the ideas of human solidarity think of their class interests, and not of the interests of the people. For them, Solidarity is a slogan, a trick and a means of manipulating people who still let themselves be beguiled.

9910

CSO: 2400/216

QUESTIONS ANSWERED ON POINTS OF NEW MILITARY LAW

East Berlin JUNGE WELT in German 1 Apr 82 p 5

['JUNGE WELT Answer Page': "The Military Service Law in Question and Answer: What Has Been Newly Regulated? Where and for How Long Is Military Service Performed? Up to What Age for Basic Duty? What Stipulations Are There for Military Service Preparation and for Reservists?"]

[Text] 1. Question: Why is the law now called Military Service Law, and what is covered by it?

Answer: The Military Service Law (MSL) and the regulations based on it represent a continuing development of the legal rules governing military service which have been proven in practice over the past 20 years. The new regulations take into account the social changes that have occurred over the past 20 years, as well as the increased demands placed on the military in the 1980's. The MSL contains all basic regulations regarding military service which affect the citizens, in concise and intelligible form; a result of this is also the name change from compulsory military service law to "Military Service Law."

Specifically it contains regulations about the national and international meaning of military service; the preparation of citizens for military service; conscription and voluntary service; active duty, its structure and internal organization; military service of reservists; military service during mobilization and in case of national emergency, the reserve of the National People's Army (NVA) and support after military service.

Based on Article 23, paragraph 1 of the GDR constitution, according to which the protection of peace and of the socialist fatherland and its achievements is the right and honorable duty of its citizens, the MSL assures the sovereign right of the working people and of every GDR citizen to reliably defend his peaceful life and his socialist fatherland. The law determines the social and legal position of members of the NVA with respect to the defense of peace and of the socialist fatherland; it becomes apparent that military service is the basic duty of national defense and at the same time contributes to the fulfillment of the GDR's obligations as a Warsaw Pact ally.



2. Question: What were the military service regulations before the MSL?

Answer: With the 18 January 1956 law which created the NVA, the GDR People's Chamber established the legal basis for the build-up of socialist armed forces of our worker and peasant state. With the 24 January 1962 conscription law, our supreme people's representation legally created the precondition that the GDR's male citizens of draft age could be systematically trained. Since then, military service has become more and more the honorable duty of all citizens.

After the 13 October 1978 defense law had created the legal basis for the further development of a comprehensive national defense, the MSL and its regulations now contribute to guaranteeing the necessary personnel strength for national defense and to increasing combat strength and combat readiness of our armed forces as well as the defense capability of our socialist fatherland, and to further promoting the defense readiness of its citizens.

3. Question: For how long and where is military service performed?

Answer: The new stipulations regarding obligatory and voluntary military service are based on past regulations. Thus, the 18-month period for basic duty has not been changed; the draft age continues to start with the person's 18th birthday.

The MSL states specifically that military service is performed in the NVA or the GDR Border Troops. Service in other organs in which citizens can fulfill their constitutional right and honorable duty to national defense is stipulated as "service in other organs which is the equivalent to performing military service." Based on resolutions by the GDR National Defense Council, such service is performed for the Ministry for State Security, in the garrisoned units of the Ministry of the Interior, Civil Defense (as far as it applies to the Civil Defense service regulations) and the construction units within the Ministry for National Defense. The old term "substitute military service" is no longer used.

4. Question: Up to what age can GDR citizens be called to basic duty?

Answer: Citizens of draft age can be called up until 31 December of the year of their 26th birthday. Moreover, the MSL takes into consideration that no citizen can be excused from the basic right and basic duty to the defense of the GDR. Instead of expulsion from the service, the law states specifically that draftees who avoid serving or who have been sentenced to prison can be inducted until 31 December of the year of their 35th birthday. The same is true for draftees who had to be discharged from the service because of criminal acts. NVA members who were disciplined with arrest or who went AWOL have to serve the corresponding time in addition. NVA members with extended

enlistments or serving in military occupations who are discharged in the course of their training because of their conduct or performance, i.e. a lack of suitability for such service, must serve basic duty without taking the time already spent in service into consideration.

5. Question: What stipulations are there for the preparation of citizens of draft age for military service?

Answer: This preparation is the concern of the entire society. For that reason, all government agencies and all enterprises are legally obligated to prepare citizens for military service. In addition, based on plans and/or government instructions, it is their legal duty to recruit citizens for voluntary service, especially for military occupations. In educational institutions from schools to universities, preparation for military service is a legally determined part of training and education. The Society for Sport and Technology (GST) is to provide premilitary training for youths for the same purpose. The fact that this has now also become part of the law corresponds to the level of social development reached in this area, while at the same time increasing the demands made on these institutions.

The rights of draft boards and military district headquarters to order draft-eligible citizens to get medical treatment or to acquire special knowledge and skills through participation in organized training courses also serves the preparation for military service.

6. Question: What does the MSL stipulate about reservists, the importance of their service and the duration of their eligibility?

Answer: All citizens of draft age (from age 18 to the upper limit, their 50th birthday or the 60th birthday in the case of officers and officer candidates) are NVA reservists except for the time when they are on active duty. Reservists are entrusted with a great responsibility for national defense. Regulations stipulate that reservists must fulfill an important social mission: to keep up their personal combat readiness and responsibility and actively to support the measures to strengthen national defense and the socialist fatherland, as well as to protect socialist achievements.

Based on objective requirements, the law makes it possible to call enough reservists to active duty to assure the numerical strength of the NVA, since in the next few years there will be fewer draftees due to low birth rates for those years. They are therefore just as much responsible for the combat strength and combat readiness of their units as those on active duty.

The overall length of reservist eligibility has been extended in order to be able to give military training to all those individuals who, until now, for

various reasons, have not served in the armed forces. It is 24 months for all those who have served on active duty for more than one year (until now 21 months for enlisted men and NCO's) and 36 months for all those who have served for less than one year or not at all. Reservist exercises lasting for more than 8 days are credited against this obligation.

7. Question: What about military service during mobilization or in the event of a national emergency?

Answer: Military service during mobilization has been regulated and made equal to military service in case of national emergency. This means that all stipulations regarding military service in case of national emergency--as, e.g., the stipulation that everyone of draft age can be inducted at any time, that military district headquarters can order them not to change or leave their places of residence, or that they can be inducted without a prior draft board review--apply also during mobilization. In addition, a special induction order for mobilization expressly provides for the possibility of drafting female citizens for preparation for military service during mobilization and in case of national emergency. The new law also stipulates that in case of mobilization or national emergency, conscription for all male citizens ends after the completion of their 60th year.

8. Question: Do NVA members have special rights and duties?

Answer: The MSL stipulates that members of the armed forces have the same basic rights and duties guaranteed under the constitution to all citizens of our republic. Military service in no way limits these rights and duties. This outlines also the social and legal position of the NVA members. It must be noted, however, that for NVA members the basic constitutional rights and duties regarding the protection of peace and of the socialist fatherland have decisive influence on all other rights and duties. It must be taken into account that NVA members are in the service. This results in special rights and duties for them. They must fulfill their oath of loyalty, follow orders precisely, without contradiction and with creative initiative, and carry out service regulations and other military decisions. Participation in social organizations, in socialist competition and innovative work is to contribute to the shaping of the military service.

9328

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SHORTCOMINGS IN HANDLING 'DIFFICULT STUDENTS' EXPOSED

West German Commentary

Bonn IWE-TAGESDIENST in German No 50, 31 Mar 82 p 3

[Report from Berlin: "Students With Behavioral Problems Are 'Written Off'-- Reproaches Against GDR Teachers." A translation of the East Berlin PAEDAGOGIK article cited below follows this commentary]

[Text] The East Berlin magazine PAEDAGOGIK (No 3, 1982) has reproached GDR teachers with failure in dealing with students with disciplinary and behavioral problems. As studies have shown, "difficult" students were often simply "written off" or "shelved" because of a lack of knowledge both of the causes of actual conflict situations and of possibilities to correct faulty personality development, so that in the individual case, also, the decisive starting point for a solution is not being found. The magazine emphatically pointed out to the teachers that their abandonment of educating students with behavioral problems had extremely negative consequences for the individual concerned, as well as for society. A successful battle against asocial and criminal behaviour in a socialist society must start with the prevention and successful correction of faulty development, especially during childhood and adolescence. Education, and also reeducation of children and adolescents, with a view to all of society, must always take precedence over criminal prosecution of adults. In all pedagogical and psychological problems and complications it is still more successful, or promising of success, to reeducate children and adolescents than to criminally prosecute adults.

## Education Professors' Critique

East Berlin PAEDAGOGIK in German Vol 37 No 3, Mar 82  
(signed to press 18 Feb 82) pp 229-234

['Discussion' feature article on the topic 'Higher Quality of Communist Education of Schoolchildren' by Prof Dr Manfred Clauss, head, Department of Education, and Dr Otmar Schuetze, assistant dean, Pedagogical Psychology, Friedrich Schiller University, Jena: "On Achieving Success in Communist Education"]

[Text] Our discussion focuses on the question of how to succeed in developing all students to the highest possible degree, to reach everyone, to leave no one behind, to recognize and promote aptitudes, talents and gifts at an early age. The following contributions pursue questions pertaining to this context, make suggestions on promoting talent and on ensuring successful Communist education, and invite discussion. In a further article contributing to the discussion, the role of language in the ideological training of students is expressed in thoughts which also stimulate an exchange of ideas. We ask our readers for additional comments.

The editors

During the current discussion on improving the quality of Communist education for schoolchildren, numerous interesting questions have already been raised.

With our remarks, we should like to draw attention to a set of problems which ought to be included in the discussion to a much larger extent.

Proceeding from the fact that in the everyday pedagogical process of our schools and institutions very different and differentiated manifestations of moral behavior, and attitudes determining behavior, are evident among children and adolescents, this datum is not at all immanently and appropriately reflected in the pedagogical and psychological literature. Often, in one and the same class, students sit next to each other, one of whom shows disciplined behavior, achieves good or very good results, and demonstrates active accomplishments in societal tasks and functions. In his behavior he reveals attitudes in word and deed which point to conscious and stable viewpoints. Another promises hastily to struggle for improvement in his achievements, but does nothing. A third one demonstrates diligence and activity, but not from his own convictions. A fourth one, during several school years, has barely managed to be promoted to the next class. He is indifferent, truancy is not unheard of. A fifth student is "not with it" at all at the moment, and is totally preoccupied with the decision whether he should stay with his mother,



or rather with his father, after his parents' divorce. In the case of yet another student, for a protracted time now there have been serious discussions in the parents' council, in the educational counseling group, and lately also in the Youth Assistance Commission, about a seemingly unavoidable transfer to a reform school. The "educational problems" have become increasingly complicated, punishable acts have occurred repeatedly, and he has a negative influence on others. Repeated and sincere efforts to gain the parents' understanding have failed. Although the parents show some comprehension now, they have lost all influence in the meantime. If there is no immediate and decisive action, there exists the great danger that this student will "get into crooked ways".<sup>1</sup>

Such manifestations in everyday pedagogical life and in the process of personality development of adolescents are not at all uncommon, since our students, although growing up under uniform societal conditions, are also subject to objective differences in educational conditions in context with the development of a socialist life style and thus also gain highly different social experiences. These influence decisively their attitudes, moral behavior, willingness to achieve, capacity to achieve, and thus their whole course of life.<sup>2</sup> The great variety and differentiation in the manifestations of the socialist life style, with simultaneous basic political-moral unity, constitute the richness of socialist life and are, at the same time, an important condition for the development of the individuality of socialist personalities.

The objectively necessary and well-founded demands upon the traits and achievement capacities of socialist personalities therefore necessitate the creation of a pedagogical process which aims at, and definitely achieves, the formation of basic and stable attitudes in an individual form, and which simultaneously prevents the spontaneous development of negative or inadequate achievement attitudes, character imperfections, and especially faulty developments.

We emphatically agree with Stoletov when he stresses that, for the socialist society, every individual life is extremely valuable and that, therefore, "even single failures in the education of people [are - the author] inadmissible, and pedagogy [as well as psychology - the author] does not have the right to pass them by".<sup>3</sup> With this, an important criterion has been outlined for the formation of the educational process in our society, i.e., its absolute assurance of success. This makes high demands both on theory and practice. Therefore, our considerations on the quality of Communist education of schoolchildren must be oriented more consistently towards certitude or probability of success of pedagogical processes in ensuring personality development; in such a manner that the inculcation and absorption of socialist personality qualities in every adolescent must be the sole criterion for pedagogy and psychology. It is thus a matter of ensuring a type of "upbringing" which proves itself in everyday life and everyday behavior and "manners", because "only that can be considered as achieved which has been assimilated into the culture, into everyday life, into customs".<sup>4</sup>

Communist education is totally committed to the educational success needed by society, since its results, as an element of the subjective factor, are an important condition of our societal development. They manifest themselves in the daily execution of one's duty to our state, in conscious basic decisions, as well as in the organization of social relationships, in the "capacity for marriage", and finally also in a general or elementary "capacity for teaching". It must be taken into consideration that the adolescent reaches the "natural" situation in which, in the role of parent, he transmits socialist ideology, values, norms and behavior patterns to his own children.

#### To Strive for Educational Success With Every Student

For this reason we can and must never show indifference, and especially not resignation, vis-a-vis learning difficulties, lack of discipline, lack of upbringing, imperfections or faulty developments. Particularly not, because Communist society needs people who are totally committed to the party and the cause, who conscientiously fulfill their daily duties even under difficult conditions, and who resist and oppose the hostility, trials and temptations of imperialism in the worldwide ideological class struggle.

True, precise proof or measurements of the degree of effectiveness of pedagogical processes are shown in stable attitudes or personality traits are a complicated problem,<sup>5</sup> especially if it is a matter of correctly judging the individual student. The correlation between attitudes and behavior patterns in actual trial situations is of a dialectical nature. In our studies of attitudes towards learning and working, inconsistencies between agreement and action, attitude and behavior, word and deed have been proven repeatedly. Psychological diagnosis, too, must provide the teacher with still more practicable possibilities, not only to draw conclusions for future performance from the present course of development and action, but also to aid in every case in the formation of personality traits needed in the future.

It also became clear in our studies that in pedagogical practice, all too often there are still actions which do not aim aggressively and purposefully at the educational success of the individual student. There are "difficult cases" who already have a "reputation" in the class, in school and among the parents, and since all past efforts were unsuccessful and further chances of success are considered negligible, one or the other student is quietly left out, "written off" or "shelved". Sometimes, such a problem in a class or school solves itself one day by the family's moving away, or the "case" has become "ripe" for Youth Assistance, or whatever. In some cases, all efforts had been abandoned because transfer to a reform school had already been decided and it was only a question of available space. But is a "case" really solved that way? The struggle for each one is still given up all too easily because at times a concrete analysis of the case is lacking, there is ignorance of the causes of specific conflict situations, or ignorance of character



formation and character problems, as well as ignorance of possibilities to overcome and correct faulty personality development, so that in the individual case the decisive starting point for a solution cannot be found. Our studies have shown time and again that teachers themselves are frequently in difficult and sometimes hopeless situations when there are learning and educational difficulties, because they lack precise knowledge of the individual conflict situation of children and adolescents, especially within their families, and measures that are taken miss the core of the problem.

Unfortunately, educational problems, once they have manifested themselves and unless they are successfully overcome, have the unpleasant characteristic of escalating and of becoming permanently more complicated. They never solve themselves, or by just running their course, not without effective and consistent pedagogical action. Thus students can develop attitudes which, as barriers,<sup>6</sup> block their achievement capacity, disastrously influence the course of their lives, and can cause considerable personal and material damage to the happiness of other family members or their immediate social environment, to work collectives, or to all of society.

Success-oriented Communist education demands, therefore, highly qualified, purposeful, creative pedagogical action as well as critical and self-critical appraisal of the results. Such action forbids indifference and embellishment as well as pessimistic appraisals of seemingly unattainable results. The success of Communist education must always be measured precisely by achievements, attitudes, activities, decisions, actions and proof of worth in actual demanding situations. Never by good behavior or purely superficial suitability, and especially not by unobtrusiveness, but by the way that absorbed attitudes are consciously realized in one's own actions.

Success-oriented Communist education therefore implies the successful methodical step in a class period, the successful lesson as well as the whole societal system of complex educational influences which occur at all levels and in all age groups and subject matters. The demand for the development of a theory structure for Communist education and pedagogy, which goes beyond a "school for children" and should be understood as a theory of life-long training and education, and which was made repeatedly in the PAEDAGOGIK 'Discussion', can only be stressed again, here.<sup>7</sup>

In our opinion, pedagogy and psychology must examine especially those processes which

1. serve the purposeful and planned formation and stabilization of Communist attitudes as personality traits within the whole ontogeny and especially during childhood and adolescence, and
2. those processes which are necessary to correct successfully achievement-inadequate and negative attitudes in the direction of achievement goals

necessary for society. We are thinking in particular of pedagogical-psychological correction methods which the teacher can handle, of reeducation in the sense of a restructuring of the attitudinal hierarchy of the whole personality, and of psychotherapeutic possibilities.

### Continuing Tasks

In further research we shall deal more intensively with this set of problems from the viewpoint of pedagogic psychology, because we see in it a possibility for increasing the assurance of success of Communist education.

It is a real possibility that in the individual case, on the basis of actual conditions of development and education, learning and/or educational problems can arise, but it is not an unavoidable necessity in any development process in which progressive, stagnative or regressive factors and quantitative and qualitative changes are immanent. With regard to the psychic personality structure, we have to assume dialectically that psychic processes, conditions and traits are subject to the disturbance factor and thus orientation and regulation of action can be hindered or rendered impossible. It is, however, our view that such actually existing development possibilities do not necessarily have to impair the personality development of healthy and promising children and adolescents.

One must agree with Drefenstedt when he starts from the well-founded expectation that, within the framework of Communist education, we will succeed in limiting "step by step the number and extent of those cases in which educational difficulties arise".<sup>8</sup> This does not happen by itself, however. Its most important precondition is an extensive and absolutely successful utilization of the educational potential on all levels and in all institutions to ensure the Communist personality development of every adolescent. And at the same time, too, the continued formation of a complete system of correction and reeducation of children and adolescents. It simply must be ensured that, once faulty developments have occurred, they can definitely be overcome successfully, or that later relapses or straying into asocial ways of life and criminality are made impossible. The education, and also reeducation, of children and adolescents, with a view to all of society, must always take precedence over criminal prosecution of adults. Despite all pedagogical and psychological problems and complications or unavoidable material and financial expenditures, it is still more successful or more probable of success to reeducate children and adolescents than to criminally prosecute adults. Formulated more pointedly, one could also say that we should prefer difficult children to future criminal adults, if only for the reason that it is well known from studies, and from practice, that negative attitudes may turn into irreversible, unalterable psychic behavior determinants.<sup>9</sup> A successful fight against asociality and criminality in a socialist society therefore must

logically start with the prevention or successful correction, respectively, of faulty personality development, especially during childhood and adolescence. For this reason, one must again stress the view that possible "development difficulties" or "tendencies towards faulty development" during one phase of personality development must never irreversibly and fatefully decide the whole course of life of children and adolescents.

It is always worthwhile and highly laudable to fight for the successful socialist personality development of every adolescent. We can be guided by a scientifically founded optimism in successful education, and also in successful correction. This is how we understand Neuner's call that, not only in "school life" but also in all areas and on all levels of the educational and training process, "the right access must be found to individual students in whom developmental contradictions become critical, and who, in one way or another, cause difficulties in the pedagogical work."<sup>10</sup>

With a view to the formation of an educational process with a high assurance of success, greater attention is needed to the "How" of education, or to educational correction and reeducation, and to the "How" of conducting complex educational processes.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. H. M. Nickel / I. Steiner, "Kommunistische Erziehung und soziale Umwelt" [Communist education and social environment]. PAEDAGOGIK, Nos 7/8/1981 p 637 ff.
2. K. H. Guenther, "Diskussionsbeitrag zur 3. Plenartagung der APW" [Discussion contribution to the third plenary meeting of the APW] DLZ 43/1981 p 12.
3. W. N. Stoletow, "Aktuelle Probleme der paedagogischen Wissenschaft und der sozialistischen Persoenlichkeitsentwicklung" [Topical problems of pedagogic science and socialist personality development] PAEDAGOGIK No 7/1973 p 261.
4. W. I. Lenin, "Lieber weniger, aber besser" [Better less, but better] WERKE [WORKS] vol 33, Dietz Verlag, Berlin 1962, p. 475.
5. K. Helbing, "Individuelles sozialistisches Bewusstsein im Prozess der kommunistischen Erziehung der Schueler herausbilden" [Individual socialist consciousness in the process of Communist education of students to be developed]. PAEDAGOGIK No 10/1981, p 823 ff.

6. A. Kossakowski, "Diskussionsbeitrag zur 3. Plenartagung der APW"  
[Discussion contribution to the third plenary meeting of the APW].  
DEUTSCHE LEHRERZEITUNG No 43/1981, p 12.
  
7. L. Klingberg, "Bemerkungen zu Gerhart Neuners Beiträgen in der  
PAEDAGOGIK 5 und 6/1980, insbesondere zu 'Konstruktive Synthese -  
wichtige Richtung pädagogischen Denkens und Forschens'" [Remarks on  
Gerhart Neuner's contribution in PAEDAGOGIK 5 and 6/1980, in particular  
'Constructive synthesis--important direction of pedagogical thinking  
and research']. PAEDAGOGIK Nos 7/8/1980, p 643.
  
8. E. Drefenstedt, "Individuelle Förderung jedes Schülers als wichtiger  
Bestandteil erfolgreicher kommunistischer Erziehung" [Individual support  
of every student as an important component of successful Communist  
education]. PAEDAGOGIK Nos 2/3/1980, p 766.
  
9. R. Werner, "Problemfamilien - Familienprobleme" [Problem families--  
family problems]. DEUTSCHER VERLAG DER WISSENSCHAFTEN Berlin 1978.
  
10. G. Neuner, "Ueber Verhältniss und Verhalten zur Jugend" [On relationship  
and attitude towards youth]. DEUTSCHE LEHRERZEITUNG No 25/1979, p 5.

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CSO: 2300/262

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

APRIL 1982 ISSUE OF SED THEORETICAL JOURNAL REVIEWED

East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 13 Apr 82 p 4

[Brigitte Hering review of East Berlin EINHEIT in German Vol 37 No 4, April 1982, signed to press 15 March 1982, pp 337-448: "Struggle for Independence." Translations and/or summaries of articles by authors cited below as well as by others are published in pages following this review]

[Text] The April issue of EINHEIT presents to its readers a wealth of information on the topic, "The Young National States in the World Arena." Five contributions deal with the political and economic development of the nationally liberated countries and discuss the neocolonialist practices of the international monopolies.

In the opening article, Emil Langer deals with the national liberation movement as the revolutionary mainstream of our epoch. From it, 120 sovereign states have emerged, in which 74 percent of the world's population live. The march of events in Asia, Africa and Latin America confirms the forecast of V. I. Lenin that the peoples of these continents will "codetermine the fate of the entire world." While describing the differing sociopolitical ways of development of the national states, their growing differentiation, the author at the same time shows that the anti-imperialist character of the national liberation movement has further intensified.

Manfred Engert reports on the content and the concerns of the program for a new international economic order demanded by the national states since the mid-1970's. By referring to the economic situation of the developing countries, he proves the urgency of this democratic program which aims at linking the struggle for national sovereignty with the struggle for economic independence from imperialism.

In the third contribution Klaus Kannapin analyzes the neocolonial strategy of imperialism. His statements on capital exports by the multinational concerns, for example, are conclusively complemented by Eberhard Czaya with "Facts and Figures on Neocolonialist Exploitation." [Dr Klaus Kannapin and Dr Eberhard Czaya are department head and staff employee, respectively, in the GDR Institute for International Politics and Economics (IPW); for Kannapin's article see "Summaries" below; Czaya's report is published in EINHEIT pp 367-369]

This EINHEIT issue is enriched by contributions from Otto Reinhold, Herbert Kroker, Dieter Weger and Otfried Arnold on topical questions of the developed socialist society. Rolf Loether moreover pays tribute to Darwin's trailblazing work, and Peter Spahn reports on the richness of our new music.

[PLEASE NOTE: A translation of "New Standards for Investment Policy," a 'Consultation' feature article (EINHEIT pp 424-428) by Prof Dr Georg Ebert and Dr Guenter Opel is published under the heading, "Shortcomings in Industrial Investments Criticized," in a recent JPRS issue of EAST EUROPE REPORT: ECONOMIC AND INDUSTRIAL AFFAIRS. The authors are with the SED Central Committee's Karl Marx Party College, Ebert as head of the faculty for Political Economy of Socialism, and Opel as senior assistant at the faculty for Industrial Economics]

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GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

CLOSER TIES BETWEEN SOCIALIST COUNTRIES, THIRD WORLD ADVOCATED

West German Commentary

Bonn IWE-TAGESDIENST in German No 54, 8 Apr 82 p 1

[Report from Berlin: "SED Wants Closer Cooperation With Developing Countries." A translation of the East Berlin EINHEIT article cited below follows this commentary]

[Text] The SED deems closer cooperation between the socialist states and the developing countries necessary in the 1980's. In its most recent edition, the theoretical party journal EINHEIT (No 4, 1982) gave as reason for it that "the most aggressive forces of monopoly capital" had by no means given up their desire "to force once again the former colonial and dependent countries under their tutelage, subjugate without restraint their natural and human resources, and thus change the international correlation of forces for their benefit. The dangers connected with it" required "the further development of the cooperation between the socialist states and the liberated countries." In this, the socialist states let themselves be guided by "that this cooperation, in view of the political, economic and social differentiations among the young national states, is all the more effective, the more concretely in any given case the common interest and points of contact and spheres and forms of cooperation are explored and developed."

SED Scholar's Analysis

East Berlin EINHEIT in German Vol 37 No 4, Apr 82 (signed to press 15 Mar 82)  
pp 346-352

['The Young National States in the World Arena' feature article by Dr Emil Langer, research program chief, Institute for International Workers' Movement, Academy of Social Sciences, SED Central Committee: "The National Liberation Movement--A Revolutionary Mainstream"]

[Text] On what are the important upswing of the national liberation movement and the further shaping of its anti-imperialist character based? Which main tasks are faced by this movement, and in what do the developmental courses of the young national states differ? What explains these differences, what consequences result from them? On what is the alliance of real socialism with the national liberation movement based, and which factors determine its further perspectives?



There are events in world history which initiate a new age in human destiny. Such a new age was announced by the Great Socialist October Revolution leading to the first socialist state in the world. It started the social and national liberation of the peoples and introduced the era of transition from capitalism to socialism at a global scale. After the historic victory over fascism in World War II, the emergence of the socialist world system became the major event that authoritatively fashioned the further course of world historic development and opened new perspectives, not only for the peoples in the socialist countries, but also for the working class struggle in the capitalist countries as for the peoples' national and social liberation struggle.

Among the events which achieved global importance in their scope, international resonance and their role and place in modern history is the upsurge of the national liberation movement, under the blows of which the imperialist colonial system disintegrated; more and more emphatically does it affect today the shaping of world politics and the renewal of the forms of existence of human society. The march of events in Asia, Africa and Latin America confirms the forecast of V. I. Lenin that the peoples of these continents will "codetermine the fate of the entire world,"<sup>1</sup> their movement, originally opposing colonial suppression, will turn against capitalism and imperialism, and the working masses in the colonial countries will "play a very great revolutionary role"<sup>2</sup> throughout the subsequent phases of the world revolutionary process.

In the course of the 1970's and in the early 1980's, this movement dealt imperialism new defeats of historic scope that further intensified the general crisis of capitalism. The Indochinese peoples, e.g., with worldwide support, fought for and defended their national independence and social progress. Through abolishing Portuguese colonial rule in Africa, the liquidation of the colonial empires was in fact concluded; now almost all colonially suppressed peoples have gained their national independence. The people's revolutions in Ethiopia, Angola, Mozambique and the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen, the progressive changes in Afghanistan, Nicaragua and Grenada, the overthrow of the anti-people's Shah regime in Iran, and the victory of the people of Zimbabwe have been important contributions to the cause of peace and social progress.

The peoples of South Africa and Namibia, supported by the democratic world public, have intensified their struggle against the South African apartheid regime and against the continued and unlawful occupation and despoliation of Namibia by the racists. Increasing strength and international recognition attach to the struggle of the Palestinian people under PLO leadership and to the other Arab peoples against the aggressive U.S. imperialist machinations in the Near East and against Israel's annexation policy that is in conflict with international law. Another upswing has been experienced by the liberation movement in Latin America, attested to in particular by the people's struggle in El Salvador, led by the Farabundo Marti national liberation front.

There also have been reversals in the peoples' national and social liberation struggle, for instance in Chile. They reflect how complicated and tough the peoples' liberation struggle is; they can be understood only against the background of overt or covert imperialist counterattacks, opposing in every way the liberation struggle and, hence, their own defeats.

Some 120 sovereign states evolved from the national liberation movement, four-fifths of the countries on the earth with 74 percent of the world population. In numbers, the strongest group of states in the UN, they have a great influence on its decisions. One-third of the mandates goes to the 50 independent countries in Africa alone. Most liberated countries belong to the movement of the nonaligned states which exercises great influence on enforcing peaceful coexistence and national independence and keeps increasing its weight with respect to the big issues of our time.

#### Distinctly Anti-imperialist in Character

There are essential differences among the liberated states in terms of their socio-economic development and their political positions--as was remarked at the 26th CPSU Congress. "Some took the revolutionary-democratic course after their liberation. Others consolidated their capitalist conditions. Some are engaged in a truly independent policy, while others are drifting along today with imperialist policy."<sup>3</sup> What explains these differences; what consequences result from them?

An answer to that question can come mainly from an analysis of the historic development of the African, Asian and Latin American countries. Centuries of colonial suppression and despoliation caused enormous backwardness in the overall development of the productive forces and socioeconomic conditions. Above all, achieving their political independence did not for most of these states solve the problem of economic dependence on imperialism. They remain subordinate and unequal in the capitalist world economy, and the neocolonialist exploitation and despoliation, mainly of their natural resources and their manpower, by the international monopoly corporations, which are a consequence of it, are becoming stronger, and so also does their underdevelopment.<sup>4</sup>

The deep contradiction between political independence and continuing economic dependence, the position of discrimination against the formerly colonially subjugated countries, is bound to intensify the conflict between them and imperialism and pushes them into struggle. And more than that: even the state sovereignty and territorial integrity of the nationally liberated states are increasingly threatened by the policy of the most aggressive imperialist circles, especially those of the United States. Those forces, tending toward adventurism and terrorism especially, on behalf of their profit and power interests, seek to turn the third world into a major field of confrontation with real socialism. They are intensifying international tension, are urging a return to the Cold War, and are declaring the raw material-rich and strategically significant regions of the developing countries spheres of their "vital interests"--in the interest of their insane arms buildup policy and hegemonial plans which threaten the existence of mankind. They are pushing for the course of threatening and using force, including military intervention, as shown at present in the Near and Middle East and, particularly, in Central America.

From the totality of the conditions under which the national liberation movement operates, the following major objective tasks of the movement in the present era result:

--Active struggle for preserving world peace and ensuring international security, defense of the liberated countries' national independence and state sovereignty,

definitive elimination of any residues of colonial suppression and of apartheid;\*  
--liberation from neocolonialist exploitation and dependence, creating a new international economic order, based on equality and mutual advantage; and  
--enforcing social progress as an important condition for surmounting the backwardness inherited from colonialism, and for securing social security for the peoples and their satisfying their elemental material and intellectual-cultural needs.

In essence, these are tasks generally democratic in nature, which will continue to form the substance of the struggle against the external enemy, political tutelage, neocolonialist exploitation, economic blackmail and military threat from imperialism. "The alignment against foreign rule, characteristic of the national liberation movement from the very start, evidently not only remains but deepens and now also turns against neocolonialist policy."<sup>5</sup> Under the impact of the inevitabilities in our era and against the background of the international class conflict between socialism and imperialism, this struggle by the Asian, African and Latin American peoples and states no longer is directed merely against one or another imperialist power--even though for some states and groups of states it continues to play an important role--but objectively turns against world imperialism.

#### Disparate Courses of Development

The further fashioning of the anti-imperialist character of the national liberation movement is closely linked with the differentiation processes in the developing countries. The rapid growth in the numerical strength and the societal role of the workers class, in consequence of the industrialization processes and the broadening of rural wage labor, is the historically most important result of the change in the social structure in most liberated states. Fashioning that class into the chief impulse for the revolutionary movement takes a long time, however, in most Asian and African countries--but not so in Latin America, where capitalist conditions have reached a stage of greater maturation.

Nonproletarian, revolutionary-democratic forces continue to play a leading role. Revolutionary democracy has a very broad social base. It embraces peasants, workers, craftsmen, the intellectuals, petty bourgeois and preproletarian forces. Due to their efforts, states with a socialist orientation or development have emerged. While this progressive development shows many peculiarities in the various countries, similar main trends can be seen: A gradual elimination of the positions of the imperialist monopolies, of the domestic haute bourgeoisie and of the feudal lords, and curtailing the activities of foreign capital; surrendering the economic command echelons to the hands of the state; planned development of the productive forces; development of rural cooperative activities; enhancing the role of the working masses in public life; strengthening the state machinery by national functionaries dedicated to the people; and enforcing an anti-imperialist foreign policy.<sup>6</sup>

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\*According to the UN, at present there are circa only 0.3 percent of the world population on barely 1 percent of the earth's surface left under direct colonial suppression. That includes Namibia, unlawfully occupied by South Africa, and 21 other regions held under colonial domination by the United States, Great Britain, France, Australia, New Zealand, the Netherlands and Spain. Those colonies are mainly islands or groups of islands of strategic importance to the imperialist states. That also applies to many of 40 other territories, including Puerto Rico, Guadeloupe, Martinique, Reunion and Diego Garcia, that are virtually treated like colonies by the countries that administer them, including the United States.



In some liberated countries, the revolutionary-democratic forces have started out resolutely toward the revolutionary transformation of social conditions, led by revolutionary vanguard parties espousing Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, and in firm political alliance with the socialist states. There, democratic and socialist-oriented transformations intertwine, the revolutionary process gradually assuming a people's democratic character. That sort of development is breaking through in states like Afghanistan, Angola, Ethiopia, Benin, the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen, Congo and Mozambique.

Yet there is no straight line to this path of progressive development. Along with that tendency there sometimes comes stagnation and even a departure from revolutionary development--as in Egypt under Sadat's leadership--, caused by the formation of a right wing inside the revolutionary-democratic forces and its making common cause with the parasitical bourgeoisie and with imperialism. It and domestic reaction seek as best they can to stop the revolutionary process and cancel the changes initiated.

Experiences thus far with the rightist trend in states that formerly pursued a progressive course of development confirm that the greater dependence on the capitalist world economy that is induced by it and the increase in social contradictions meet with growing protests from the peoples concerned and with popular campaigns and hence press for the development of an overall national anti-imperialist movement.

Despite opposite trends, even in those liberated countries pursuing a capitalist development, the anti-imperialist character of the national liberation movement is deepening. In the years of their own statehood, a domestic bourgeoisie formed in those countries which is highly heterogeneous as such. It ranges from the haute bourgeoisie to the middle class and petty bourgeoisie, from the bourgeoisie entwined with feudal forces via the bureaucratic and parasitical bourgeoisie all the way to the lower middle class. To the extent that in the struggle for completing the national liberation the social content in their conflicts deepens, considerable segments of them, mainly large landowners, big capitalists and parasitical bourgeois circles, depart from the movement and lean on imperialism.

Representatives of the petty bourgeoisie and middle class and sometimes also of the haute bourgeoisie who stick to the tasks of national independence, in opposing it, are seeking to turn back the economic supremacy of foreign capital and the neo-colonial policy of imperialism, which places them in a patriotic, anti-imperialist position. Their role in the struggle for peace, disarmament and international détente, and in developing the productive forces in the national interest, gains in importance in view of the confrontation course and the military buildup policy of the most aggressive imperialist circles.

In the liberated countries under capitalist development, the social contradictions inherent in capitalism have sharpened enormously due to the colonial legacy and the parasitical efforts of the transnational corporations. The working people's increasing activities in countries under capitalist development, as in India, Sri Lanka, Thailand, Egypt, Morocco, Tunisia, Sudan, Nigeria and many Latin American countries, opposing the intensified exploitation, inflation, material distress and

unemployment, and promoting better working and living conditions, social security and democratic codetermination, meld increasingly with the overall national movement against imperialism and internal reaction.

Standing in the front rank, "the communists are the most determined and bravest fighters in the peoples' worldwide struggle for peace, national and social liberation."<sup>7</sup> The strength and influence of many of the communist and workers parties in more than 55 Asian, African and Latin American countries have grown in recent years despite massive anticommunist pressure. New communist parties emerged in some of the countries (in Egypt, Saudi Arabia, Bahrain, Jamaica and in the Palestinian territories Israel has occupied) or are about to emerge. The communists are working--mostly under complicated conditions of existence and struggle--toward forming national fronts on the broadest basis which include all social and political forces interested in doing away with imperialist domination and exploitation and anti-peoples military dictatorships, in democratic transformations and mainly in averting the growing war danger and in frustrating the imperialist confrontation course and its use of force in international relations.

The increasing differentiation among the nationally liberated countries due to their disparate sociopolitical orientation and development is not inconsequential in terms of the bearing that has on their consistency in the anti-imperialist struggle and on the cohesiveness of the stand they take against neocolonialism. This, among other things, is reflected in that these countries assume disparate positions on the world situation and on international policy matters, in one case or another, in the UN, the movement of nonaligned states or other international organizations as well as regional affiliations. On the other hand, the confrontation and arms buildup policy of the most aggressive circles of NATO, especially of the United States, and the effects of the intensifying crisis manifestations in the capitalist industrial states on the former colonial world have enormously intensified the contradictions between imperialism and the vital national interests of the Asian, African and Latin American peoples. This broadens the objective foundations for a joint struggle by the socially heterogeneous forces in the national liberation movement at this time for peace, national independence and social progress.

#### Cooperation Between Socialist States and Young National States

In relating to the liberated states, the USSR and the other countries in the socialist community of states start from the proposition that the anti-imperialist character of the national liberation movement is deepening further while the differentiation processes in the third world are advancing. The socialist states develop their relations with these countries on the basis of joint objectives in the struggle for peace and security, national independence and social progress, and against imperialism, colonialism, neocolonialism and racism. In a political respect, these relations express common interests in enforcing the independence and equality of peoples and nations, in an economic respect, the common struggle for reorganizing the world economy on the basis of equality and mutual advantage.<sup>8</sup>

The socialist states' attitude toward the national liberation movement, their policy of unity with the suppressed peoples and their solidary assistance of the national liberation struggle are of great historic significance. While already up to now, the existence of real socialism and its fraternal ties with the national



liberation movement form an indispensable prerequisite for its upswing and successes, for the emergence and national independence of many young states and their elevation into an independent factor of world politics, a firm alliance between real socialism and the national liberation movement is only gaining in importance at present. In view of the imperialist attempts to revive the days of the Cold War. By no means have the most aggressive forces of monopoly capital given up their desire to force once again the former colonial and dependent countries under their tutelage, subjugate without restraint their natural and human resources, and thus to alter the international correlation of forces in their favor. The dangers that come from that threaten all the peoples that are fighting for national independence and social progress. They demand that the cooperation between the socialist states and the liberated countries be further extended. In this, the socialist states let themselves be guided by that this cooperation, in view of the political, economic and social differentiations among the young national states, is all the more effective, the more concretely in any given case the common interests and points of contact and spheres and forms of cooperation are explored and developed.

Recently, in particular, the cooperation between the socialist states and most of the liberated countries brought about important UN resolutions serving the defense of world peace, international security, the elimination of dangerous hotbeds of conflict, and disarmament. That pertains, for example, to the declaration adopted by the 36th UN General Assembly on preventing a nuclear catastrophe and the resolutions on proscribing the neutron weapon, chemical and bacteriological weapons, and all nuclear tests, the non-use of nuclear weapons and the prevention of nuclear war, and the outlawing of deploying any kind of weapons in space. That holds true also for the most recent UN resolutions on confining the conflicts in the Near East and the south of Africa and on condemning Israel for the annexation of the Syrian Golan Heights.

The socialist states also back the significant activities of Asian, African and Latin American countries toward creating peace and nuclear-free zones, such as the struggle by India and other states in that region against the massive militarization of the Indian Ocean by the United States, as well as the initiative by the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen to call a summit conference of the states on the Arab peninsula, the Gulf and the Horn of Africa and other interested states, to turn that region into a peace zone. The most recent proposals by Mexican President Portillo for ensuring peace in Central America and the Caribbees also meet with the approval of the socialist states.

The socialist states maintain friendly relations with countries of socialist orientation or under socialist development which embody a new and important trend of the anti-imperialist struggle and social progress in the world of the former colonies and semi-colonies. Above and beyond manifold governmental cooperation, the socialist countries' Marxist-Leninist parties are consolidating their relations with the revolutionary parties of states under progressive development, familiarizing them with the rich experiences in the construction of socialism.

A firm basis exists also for the cooperation with liberated countries on a capitalist course of development which yet seek to pursue a course toward defending and reinforcing national independence, both political and economic; the socialist countries support them actively. That is impressively exemplified by the close cooperation

by the USSR, the GDR and other fraternal countries with India, Mexico and other states. Socialist states are developing contacts and economic and political relations also with those Asian, African and Latin American states that to some degree or other keep drifting along with imperialist policy though they are interested in relieving the direct imperialist pressure imposed on them. Those states also find attractive the socialist countries' policy to enforce the principles of democratic international law in the international arena. This makes cooperation possible with them on certain matters of preserving the peace and defending national interests.

The prospects of the Asian, African and Latin American countries' national and social liberation struggle are closely tied up with the strengthening of real socialism and the safeguarding of world peace, with ending the dangerous arms race and with disarmament. Successes in this struggle greatly depend on how much of a commitment of their own the anti-imperialist, revolutionary forces on those continents are willing to make to further strengthening the safeguarding of peace in the international arena and work together with all other revolutionary forces, especially the USSR and the other states in the socialist community. Comrade Erich Honecker has commented about that as follows: "The broader the front of like-minded advocating peace and disarmament, the more effectively the peace forces act together and demonstrate their resolute resistance to imperialist policy, the greater are the chances to secure world peace permanently."<sup>9</sup>

#### FOOTNOTES

1. V. I. Lenin, "Speech on the Second All-Russian Congress of the Communist Organizations of the Peoples of the East," "Werke" (Works), Vol 30, Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1961, p 145.
2. V. I. Lenin, "Third Comintern Congress," "Werke," Vol 32, Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1961, p 505.
3. L. I. Brezhnev, "26th CPSU Congress--CPSU Central Committee Status Report and the Next Party Tasks in Domestic and Foreign Policy," Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1981, p 17.
4. Cf. Klaus Kannapin, "Neocolonial Practices of International Monopolies," this EINHEIT issue, pp 360-366.
5. Khaled Bagdache, "The Current Stage of the National Liberation Movement," PROBLEMS OF PEACE AND SOCIALISM, No 11, 1981, p 1477.
6. L. I. Brezhnev, op. cit., loc. cit.
7. Comrade Erich Honecker: "Bericht des Zentralkomitees der Sozialistischen Einheitspartei Deutschlands an den X. Parteitag der SED" (SED Central Committee Report to the 10th SED Congress), Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1981, p 148.
8. Cf. Manfred Engert, "In the Struggle for Democratization of International Economic Relations," this EINHEIT issue, pp 353-359.
9. Erich Honecker, "Der gemeinsame Kampf der Arbeiterbewegung und der nationalen Befreiungsbewegung gegen Imperialismus, fuer sozialen Fortschritt, Internationale Wissenschaftliche Konferenz, Berlin, 20-24 Oktober 1980" (The Joint Struggle of the Workers Movement and the National Liberation Movement Against Imperialism, for Social Progress, International Science Conference, Berlin, 20-24 October 1980), Vol I, Zeit im Bild publishing house, Dresden, 1981, p 20.

NEW GDR PUBLICATIONS ON THIRD WORLD REVIEWED

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pp 370-371

[Review by Helga Maiwald, reader, Staatsverlag der DDR (GDR State Publishing House), East Berlin; of 10 books and 6 brochures as indicated below: "New Literature on the National Liberation Movement"]

[Text] Again in 1980/1981, many publications on basic issues of the Asian, African and Latin American peoples' national and social liberation struggle came out in the GDR. Some of them are to be commented on in the following.

The authors of the book, "Entwicklung und Kampf der kommunistischen Bewegung in Asien und Afrika" (Development and Struggle of the Communist Movement in Asia and Africa), produced by an authors collective headed by Emil Langer, Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1980, analyze the particulars confronting the communist and workers parties in the young Asian and African states--in comparison with those of the revolutionary workers movement in Europe--and explain the key question of their practical politics: the elastic connection between overall national and social tasks. The priority here goes to the struggle for working class unity of action and a broad anti-imperialist united front. The ripening of conditions for a broad spread of the communist movement in these regions is reflected by the early beginnings of revolutionary vanguard parties emerging, which let themselves be guided by Marxist-Leninist principles, indispensable for further advances in countries that have taken the course of socialist development.

With his work, "Die befreiten Laender in der Welt von heute" (The Liberated Countries in the World of Today), translated from the Russian and published by Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1981, Karen Butenz, with an eye to the 1980's, provides a vivid picture of the complicated and, partly, contradictory processes in these countries. Emphases in this compressed presentation are: The growing role of the liberated states in world politics, social and economic differentiation processes in these countries, interactions between internal and external factors on the course of development with a socialist orientation, modified forms in the neo-colonial influence by imperialism, and basic trends in the cooperation between the USSR and the liberated states. Proceeding from such a complex view, the author arrives at the opinion that conflicts about fundamental developmental problems are going to intensify further in the decades ahead. The countries with a socialist orientation will have to resolve which political and socioeconomic

transformations are necessary to make headway on their chosen course of development. With respect to the states pursuing a capitalist course it is of basic interests whether imperialism succeeds in imposing on them fully developed capitalism, including its monopolistic stage, or else at least some of these countries will proceed toward a nationally independent capitalism.

"Ideenkaempfe in Afrika, Asien, Latein Amerika" (Ideological Struggles in Africa, Asia and Latin America), translated from the Russian and prepared by an authors collective headed by F. V. Konstantinov, Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1980, is a book that analyzes the variety of ideological currents and trends in that important part of the world, mainly in terms of the conflict with the neocolonialist ideology and the struggle for a progressive course of development. Special attention is devoted to the contradictory role of nationalism and religion, especially Islam. The efforts of revolutionary-democratic forces are treated in detail, as they resolutely draw the people's masses into the revolutionary transformation process in making use of the mental attitude, traditional moral precepts, democratic traditions in the mores and culture of the peoples as shaped by history and by the struggle against colonialism.

"Entwicklungslaender: Sozialoekonomische Prozesse und Klassen" (Developing Countries: Socioeconomic Processes and Classes), prepared by an authors collective headed by Klaus Ernst and Hartmut Schilling, published by the Staatsverlag der DDR, Berlin, 1981, is a publication which explores the economic and social structure of the developing countries under the conditions of the capitalist course of development and that of a socialist orientation or development: the formation of the workers class, the contradictory position of the domestic bourgeoisie, the specifics of petty bourgeois intermediate strata, the growth of preproletarian and semiproletarian impoverished rural and urban masses, and the differentiation processes within the peasantry. An appendix with as many as 39 tables grants, among other things, a clear picture of the growth and structure of the economy, the proportion and structure of wage labor, including foreign workers, the results in forming national cadres, the population structure and the annual rate of population growth.

The compendium, "Neokolonialismus. Neue Erscheinungen" (Neocolonialism--New Manifestations), by an authors collective headed by Gertraud Liebscher, Staatsverlag der DDR, Berlin, 1981, presents the changes in the correlation of forces between imperialism and the developing countries as expressing the further intensification of the general crisis of capitalism and unmasks the neocolonial practices of the international monopolies and the imperialist states. It is being shown here that these monopolies, because of their productive, financial, scientific-technical and organizational potentials, often decisively determine imperialism's relations with the developing countries.

A cohesive presentation of the origin and development of the nonaligned countries' policy is offered by Renate Wuensche's study, "Die Nichtpaktgebundenen--eine dritte Kraft?" (The Nonaligned--A Third Force?), Staatsverlag der DDR, Berlin, 1980, in the series "Blickpunkt Weltpolitik." The conditions, nature, tasks, goals and principles of that movement are being explored as well as the influence of growing differentiation processes in and among the developing countries on that movement. An important supplement is provided by the volume, "Dokumente der Nichtpaktgebundenen" (Documents of the Nonaligned), selected and introduced by the same author and published by the



Staatsverlag der DDR, Berlin, 1981, which came out on the occasion of the 20th anniversary of that movement and includes important documents of the six summit conferences of the nonaligned states (1961 to 1979). Both publications document the outstanding contribution the nonaligned movement has made from the very beginning to the struggle for peace and disarmament and against colonialism, racism, apartheid and neocolonialism. They bear out that the crux of the nonaligned movement lies in the demands for reorganizing international economic relations, for eliminating the discriminatory and subservient position of the developing countries in the capitalist world economy.

An authors collective, Martin Breetzmann, Helmut Faulwetter, Joachim Garscha, and Peter Stier, in the series, "Studien ueber Asien, Afrika, Lateinamerika" of the Akademie Verlag, Berlin, 1981, have prepared a monograph, "Industrie und Industrieplanung in Entwicklungslaendern: Erfahrungen, Probleme und Aufgaben" (Industry and Industrial Planning in the Developing Countries: Experiences, Problems and Tasks), in which they sketch the industrialization level attained today in these countries and discuss theoretical problems in industrial planning. With it, a vivid picture is given of the GDR's experiences in socialist construction.

The "Jahrbuch Asien-Afrika-Lateinamerika" (Yearbook Asia-Africa-Latin America), published by the Central Council for Asian, African and Latin American Studies of the GDR, VEB Deutscher Verlag der Wissenschaften, Berlin, 1981, is a reference work that contains articles on the basic issues of the national liberation movement, on regional developments, and on problems in some of these countries. Its chronology is supplemented by a selected bibliography which includes monographs, compendia and articles published in the GDR and the Soviet Union. There also is a "Jahrbuch der Internationalen Politik und Wirtschaft" (Yearbook for International Politics and Economics), jointly published by the Institute for World Economy and International Relations of the USSR Academy of Sciences and the Institute for International Relations under the GDR Academy for Political Science and Jurisprudence through the Staatsverlag der DDR, Berlin, 1981, which contains country analyses of selected Asian, African and Latin American states. Both publications excel in giving up-to-date information together with references to specific tendencies in those states' domestic and foreign policy.

Brochures produced by the Dietz publishing house address a broad circle of interested readers on the following problems in the Asian, African and Latin American peoples' national and social liberation struggle: "Revolutionaeres Afghanistan" (Revolutionary Afghanistan), by an authors collective headed by Hans-Joachim Radde and Egon Dummer, 1980; "Simbabwe ist frei" (Zimbabwe Is Free), by Christa Schaffmann, 1980; "Islam. Religion-Gesellschaft--Staat" (Islam--Religion-Society-State), by Martin Robbe, 1981; "Wer bedroht die Golfregion" (Who Threatens the Gulf Region), by Edmund Roehner, 1981; "Die Erben Sandinos" (The Sandinistas), by Waltraud Hagen, 1980; and "Suedafrika--Apartheid im Wandel?" (South Africa--Is Apartheid Changing?), by Klaus Brade, 1982. On only 80 pages, in a tight and well organized form, a wealth of figures and facts is supplied which form important background material for taking care of topical problems. Here also the informational value of the publications is enhanced by appendices containing chronologies, excerpts of documents, tables and brief biographies.



GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

THESIS OF 'FAILED SOVIET SOCIALIST MODEL' REFUTED

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pp 372-380

[Article by Prof Dr Otto Reinhold, economist, member, SED Central Committee; rector, Academy of Social Sciences, SED Central Committee; member, GDR Academy of Sciences; corresponding member, USSR Academy of Sciences; member, EINHEIT editorial board: "Real Socialism and the Vitality of Marxism-Leninism"]

[Text] The especially gross and awkward methods of anticommunism and anti-Sovietism have in our days, within the scope of the imperialist military buildup and confrontation strategy, led to remarkable manifestations and peculiar blossoms. Reagan says, for example, that real socialism is paralyzed and in its last gasps; simultaneously, the biggest arms buildup program the world has ever seen in times of peace is being explained by that one has to fight off socialism. The mightily increasing peace movement in the world, the claim goes, is the work of Moscow; simultaneously, they are insinuating that the ideas emanating from the Great Socialist October Revolution--which principally include the idea of peace--had now definitely lost all their efficacy. In publications by imperialist ideologists, an annual economic growth rate in the capitalist industrial countries of 2 to 3 percent is a long desired goal, expressive of an economic recovery of great weight--only that such a recovery has been long delayed, and if it were to come, it would from the outset be linked with the absolutely certain prospect of another crisis. As to the socialist countries, those same people interpret a national income growth rate between 2 and 5 percent in 1981 as a sign of a deep crisis. They are trumpeting around every day all over the world that the Soviet Union is developing constantly new and technically perfect weapons systems and producing them at immense volumes. At the same time, virtually in a schizophrenic manner, the contention is being reiterated that the socialist society is not in the position to master modern technologies and thus absolutely needs western assistance for it. In view of such backwardness in technology and labor productivity--the claim is--a confrontation with the world market is bound to lead to economic catastrophe for the socialist countries.

These few examples as such reveal sufficiently: This is psychological warfare against socialism and other democratic forces, where use is made of all conceivable means. Those who are responsible for this psychological warfare are ready and determined to disseminate any claim, lie or halftruth, day after day, if they deem it useful for carrying out their arms buildup and confrontation policy.

## Anticommunism as Instrument of the Confrontation Strategy

Anticommunism, especially anti-Sovietism, has indeed always been a decisive instrument in the struggle against socialist society. A glance at history shows that there has been no period in history, ever since 1917, since the Great Socialist October Revolution, in which the antisocialist policy of the aggressive imperialist circles would fail to be combined with the contention that the existence of mankind was seriously threatened by socialism, that the socialist economy was in a deep crisis and would collapse in the foreseeable future. This anticommunist rite, as one knows, was repeated after the GDR was founded as well as in connection with the revolutionary transformations in all the countries that had taken the way toward socialism.

The fact that all this is old hat does not mislead us into underrating how dangerous this ideological warfare is. Especially in our days, the imperialist efforts pushed hard in the ideological field are a critical instrument of the confrontation strategy. Hardly ever before were so many means and capacities used for it, were measures coordinated and staffed out like this on the international level, as today. Their initiators expect that by means of these ideological efforts an atmosphere could be created which would make possible the implementation of the far-reaching plans of the armaments and confrontation policy and the disorientation, split and weakening of the forces struggling for peace and disarmament all over the world.

International development at present makes increasingly clear that two decisive forces are confronting each other: On the one side, there are those forces pushing with all they have for a military buildup and confrontation policy, which are including the possibility of nuclear war in their calculations, wishing to make it possible, winnable and locally confined to Europe. The driving force behind it is the military-industrial complex of the United States and other NATO states. On the other side, there are those forces that are struggling all over the world for peace and disarmament, for preventing an atomic catastrophe, for detente and a policy of dialogue for solving international problems. The crucial power center for that are the Soviet Union and the socialist community of states.

However provocative the measures and declarations by the representatives of the imperialist arms buildup and confrontation course have been, they could not push the Soviet Union and the other Warsaw Pact states onto a course that would give tit for tat. It is easy enough to imagine how such a confrontation would facilitate the struggle against the peace movement that is led by the imperialist forces and help the United States discipline its own allies. All designs to drag the socialist community into that kind of a confrontation have been thwarted, thanks mainly to the firm positions and prudent and straightforward peace policy of the Soviet Union. The USSR is pitting its program on detente, disarmament and dialogue against the program on arms buildup, sanctions and blackmail, and the escalation of tensions. Comrade L. I. Brezhnev stated recently: "We have chosen, for once and for all, the course of struggle for peace. Imperialist provocations and threats will not throw us off this course. And this is what we want everybody to see: In the nuclear age, peace is the foremost condition for preserving life on earth."<sup>1</sup>

The chief aim of the anticommunist propaganda wave of the U.S. government and NATO is to turn these facts topsy-turvy in the perception of as many people as possible

and intimate the notion of a "Soviet threat" to the peoples. The notion that both sides, the United States and the Soviet Union, NATO and the Warsaw Pact, are equally responsible for the arms race and that one should keep "equal distance from both blocks," objectively countenances these intentions that are so highly perilous to the cause of peace. The ruling imperialist circles naturally do all they can in denying the connection between the character of a social order and its attitude toward war and peace, the indissoluble tie between economics and politics. However, historical as well as contemporary experiences confirm the Marxist-Leninist realization that as aggressiveness is implied in the character of imperialism so also is the peace policy inseparable from the essence of socialism. This unity of socialism and peace has once again been manifested in the new Soviet initiative proclaimed by Comrade Leonid Brezhnev--particularly in the unilateral moratorium on medium-range nuclear weapons in Europe and the intention of a unilateral reduction of the number of medium-range missiles still this year, unless another exacerbation of the situation occurs.

### Revolutionary Renewal of the World and Peace Belong Together

In attempting to justify the current strategy of the U.S. government, one keeps running into the allegation, made in various forms, that the Soviet Union as real socialism per se are aggressive and are seeking to impose their social system on the world. Reagan came out against this power, marked as the incarnation of all evil, when he announced: "Thus far, detente has been a one-way street used by the Soviet Union to pursue its own aims. I have known of no leader of the Soviet Union since the revolution, including the current leadership, who would have failed to reiterate more than once at the various communist congresses they were firmly committed to the goal of promoting the world revolution and a single socialist or communist world state--whichever term you like to use."<sup>2</sup> From that they derive the thesis that any revolutionary process wherever in the world is organized by Moscow and any progressive movement of today--especially, of course, the peace movement--is the work, the extended arm, of the Soviet Union.

Basic historical and contemporary facts disprove those allegations completely. For one thing, there is the fact already explained by Marx and Engels, that the necessity, the inevitability of the socialist revolution grows out of the inherent contradictions of capitalism. The intensification of the basic capitalist contradictions is bound to lead to those social conflicts and struggles which eventually place on the agenda the transition from capitalism to socialism, in the outcome of which that transition is then also practically carried out under working class leadership. From this objective inevitability the Marxist-Leninists derive the certitude and historic optimism that socialism will triumph at a global scale. This certitude, moreover, is reinforced by the fact, proven by Marxism-Leninism and confirmed by life a thousand times, that the capitalist order is not able to solve the fundamental problems of society in the interest of the entire people.

Unless internal social prerequisites exist for it, there can be no socialist revolution. Inversely, no force can on the long run stave it off, once those prerequisites are in place. From it, Lenin drew the crucial conclusion for a socialist state's foreign policy that no export of the socialist revolution is conceivable and certainly cannot be brought to practical realization. This for the very reason that this way one can never replace or create the social forces imperative for a

socialist revolution. Lenin kept insisting that the successful construction of socialism, the exemplary solution of the social problems, offered the most important support for the revolutionary forces in the capitalist world. Especially on behalf of the revolutionary world process, therefore, each socialist state is deeply interested in peace and peaceful coexistence between states with differing social orders. That must in practice be recognized by the ruling imperialist circles when they announce that peaceful coexistence benefits socialism. In that, to be sure, they seek to suppress the extremely important fact that the benefit is no less for the overwhelming majority of the people on earth. And that, after all, is precisely the reason for the support the Soviet peace policy encounters beyond the confines of parties and countries.

There is another essential aspect that must be mentioned in this connection today. In the late 1960's and early 1970's, the international power ratio had in various ways changed in favor of socialism and many other anti-imperialist forces interested in peace and peaceful coexistence. An important element there was the emergence of the military-strategic equilibrium. It made the transition to a detente policy an objective necessity for the ruling imperialist circles. Yet especially their most aggressive wing--above all in the United States--had combined that with the notion that with the help and within the scope of the detente process the revolutionary world process could be stopped and turned back in its development, which would provide opportunities for interfering in the internal affairs of socialist countries, especially for exporting the counterrevolution. Richard Allen, the former chief of the U.S. President's National Security Council, announced in September 1981 that in the view of the U.S. government "the policy of the last 10 years, known as the policy of detente, had not functioned." It had been a "failure."<sup>3</sup> In an interview with DIE WELT, on 11 September 1981, he proclaimed: "What we want to bring about is a change in the Soviet attitude."

Here obviously two different facts are meant to be confused with each other. The fact that an export of the socialist revolution deeply runs counter to the essence of socialism never means that socialism will not manage to defend itself and fail to use all its power and strength to prevent an export of the counterrevolution while providing solidary support to all peoples and movements struggling for their freedom. As one can see, the aggressive imperialist forces, especially in the United States, cannot and do not want to reconcile themselves to the fact that the time when they could do what they pleased in all parts of the world is gone for good.

#### Who Wants Armament and Who Wants Disarmament

In contrast to imperialism and its military-industrial complex, there are no classes, strata or groups in socialist society which would earn a single mark from armaments and war. Defense expenditures still are unavoidable yet they always mean curtailing that part of the national income that is necessary for elevating the working people's material and cultural standard of living and for solving other fundamental tasks in the shaping of the new society. This alone is a sufficient reason for the Soviet Union and the countries in the socialist community to do all they can to hold the military-strategic equilibrium down as much as possible through arms limitation and disarmament.



The ruling imperialist circles are well enough aware of the fact that no forces exist in the socialist countries that are or could be economically interested in arms production. That precisely, as one knows, led to one of the strategic targets in their military buildup policy of dragging primarily the Soviet Union into an arms race gigantic in scope. So they hope that eventually a time will come when the Soviet Union no longer can keep up for economic reasons and thus can be blackmailed and ultimately would have to accept in international relations and in other areas, particularly in the field of arms limitation, the conditions that are dictated by the United States.

President Reagan's special envoy to the strategic arms limitation negotiations, E. Rowny, announced that the Soviet Union, in contrast to the United States, necessarily needs an arms limitation for economic reasons. The United States could sustain the arms race. The U.S. President announced (WASHINGTON STAR, 5 August 1981) the Soviet Union could "not catch up in the arms race" with the United States. This is not the place to examine more closely the absurd contention that the United States could keep up the gigantic arms race over the long run, without any economic impediments, as it were. That is, in any event, grossly contradicted by the deep recession of early 1982, the enormous budget deficits at unprecedented dimensions, the high interest policy that comes with it, and the social conflicts generated by it.

Two facts ought to be stressed in particular. One is the great hypocrisy in the thesis of NATO's needing to "catch up" allegedly to ensure the security of the United States and the other imperialist countries. With security, this arms buildup policy surely has nothing to do. Mainly one ought to make a strong point of the fact that the Soviet Union, as every other socialist country, is deeply interested in detente, arms limitation and disarmament, owing to the character of the socialist order. Except for security needs, there are no interests in and reasons for the production of new weapons systems, let alone for an arms race.

In contrast, the character of imperialism yesterday and today has given rise to expansion and aggression. As shown by the activity of the international corporations and the many official announcements by the U.S. government about American "spheres of interest" all over the world, the rule of monopoly capital constantly renews the drive for world domination. Armaments production in imperialism not only is the most lucrative profit source, the arms buildup is engaged in also in the hope to find thereby a way out of the deep crisis of the present and get closer to the realization of global supremacy dreams. In other words: A diametrical opposition exists between socialism and imperialism with respect to armament and economics.

#### The Strength of the Socialist Peace Policy

Europe's socialist countries face some important and complicated tasks in the years ahead. In the 1970's, extensive sociopolitical programs were started and carried out. Their extension in the 1980's requires a significant improvement in economic efficiency under the altered reproduction conditions. The ruling imperialist circles in the United States and other NATO states, in their arms buildup and confrontation policy, cherish the hope that the socialist community will not or but slowly be able to resolve the tasks resulting therefrom. At the same time, they



have every good reason to be afraid that coping with them in years ahead is going to lead to such changes in the international power ratio in favor of socialism that the tracks of international development will be switched far beyond the turn of the century. And they harbor the perfectly justified serious fear that the crisis in the capitalist economy and society is going to get more acute in the course of the 1980's, so that one must, above all, expect a significant intensification of the social contradictions and conflicts. Already, representatives of the ruling circles are pointing out with concern that this will seriously weaken the strategic positions of the West. But as one can see, thus far no propitious conception for a way out of this situation has surfaced.

From that, the most aggressive imperialist circles draw the conclusion that all capacities are to be mobilized for the arms buildup and confrontation policy against the Soviet Union and the socialist community even now, in the years ahead to the middle of the decade. In the second half of the decade--they are afraid--it might be too late for that, and they have missed their chance for good. On behalf of such objectives, they are prepared to lead humanity to the brink of nuclear war and in fact risk such a war.

A realistic and unbiased consideration leads to at least three basic implications and conclusions. First, more than ever it is being confirmed today that peace emanates from the essence, the character of socialist society, that socialism needs peace and creates peace. The shaping of the developed socialist society at present and the character and weight of the tasks to be solved today and in years ahead have only further reinforced the need and efforts by the Soviet Union as well as the entire socialist community to secure peace with all their strength. This still more clearly displays the objective inevitability of our era, that real socialism directly represents the fundamental interests of the overwhelming majority of all people, of all those who are interested in peace and security.

Second, this characteristic of socialism expresses itself in the peace policy of the Soviet Union and the other countries in the socialist community. It conforms with the peace-loving character of socialism that all important proposals and activities in the struggle for reliably securing peace and for arms limitation and disarmament come from it. This is no tactics issue containing short-term ideas, it conforms with socialist society's position of principle. Mainly for these reasons, the socialist states turn out to be the main force in the struggle for peace and security. Holding the USSR and the United States, the Warsaw Pact and NATO, equally responsible for the exacerbation of the international situation, placing them on one and the same level in the struggle for peace and disarmament, means ignoring the contradictory nature of the two social orders, their historic development as their current policy.

Third, in view of the imperialist confrontation policy, it amounts to completely ignoring the real facts--for whichever reason--to claim that the Great Socialist October Revolution and the socialism it generated had lost their strength of radiation, their international influence. What, in fact, is the current imperialist arms buildup and confrontation strategy aimed against, if not at fighting and eliminating the model of socialism and its strength of radiation. And why would the most aggressive representatives of imperialism engage in their anti-progressive "containment policy," were it not that they are afraid of the growing international

influence of the ideas that evolved from the Red October and their having turned into reality in the socialist world. U.S. Secretary of State Haig keeps pointing out the crucial objective of the imperialist arms buildup and confrontation policy in saying: "Our goal remains plain and convincing: a world in which our society and our ideals can live. And our goals can be attained if we restore America's leadership."<sup>4</sup> Real socialism is the crucial obstacle for it, and that it will remain.

Of course, the imperialist politicians and ideologues know all too well what perfect nonsense their contention is that today's peace movement is a product of Soviet propaganda, an extended arm of Moscow. Likewise, no one can seriously deny that the Soviet Union's peace policy, its proposals on arms limitation and disarmament, and its readiness for dialogue exercise a great strength of radiation into the peace movement. Without such a policy by the Soviet Union, the Geneva negotiations on reducing nuclear medium-range missiles, on which millions of Europeans--and not only Europeans--placed such great hopes, could never have come about. Today it has become obvious to realistic peace advocates that advances in the struggle for securing peace primarily depend on the pressure placed on the U.S. government. That is clearly indicated by concrete demands from the peace movement in Western Europe and other parts of the world. And it is also clear that the weight and influence of that movement were able to grow mainly because the Soviet Union and all states in the socialist community resolutely champion detente and disarmament and settling all issues by means of a dialogue. All patently absurd designs of turning the peace movement around and directing it against the strongest bastion of peace, the Soviet Union, have failed so far and must fail. What sense would it make, in fact, to demand of the Soviet Union an outlawing of the neutron weapon, negotiations on nuclear medium-range missiles, or dialogue instead of confrontation? Those proposals, after all, come right out of the official state policy of the Soviet Union and the states of the socialist community itself. It has been and it is the Soviet Union which keeps announcing its readiness to negotiate on the reduction and elimination of all kinds of weapons, provided the principle of equal security is maintained. It is the result of the October Revolution that today, in this dangerous international situation, there exists that force in the form of the socialist community that has decisively seen to it that for 37 years now peace could be preserved in Europe and the imperialist drive of aggression be tamed.

#### The Fundamental Task in the Early 1980's

A central spot in the strategy of the aggressive imperialist circles goes to the economy of socialist society. They hope a destabilization of the socialist economy will shake the socialist social order as such, and they fancy the situation auspicious for it, as ambitious and complicated tasks have to be solved in the economy of the European socialist countries. They confine themselves not to hopes, of course but are making great efforts in practice to affect internal developments in that sense. That aim is served by their policy on sanctions, their use of a high interest policy, their interrupting or delaying economic negotiations and so forth. An executive official of the U.S. State Department, J. Scanlan, frankly announced: "Trade is among our strongest means of pressure to affect Soviet behavior."<sup>5</sup> And the Soviet export on the U.S. National Security Council, R. Pipes, underscored that objective in East-West trade: "Without imposing political conditions, it should not be implemented."<sup>6</sup> And mainly through a gigantic arms race, the socialist community is to be prevented from resolving its fundamental tasks.

These measures, aimed at a destabilization, are linked with an ideological campaign--long conducted fiercely yet more than ever reinforced today--with the central allegation that the socialist economic system is in a deep crisis. That is meant to deflect from the deep crisis in the capitalist economy and the social conflicts that have come with it. Workers and trade unions in the capitalist countries are to be induced to accept their diminished social benefits more smoothly and forget about their economic and social demands. But the main point is to sow doubt about the strength and advantages of the socialist order. As an example, they use what happened in Poland.

If one looks at things as they really were, however, one finds in the European socialist countries in 1981 (excepting Poland) a 2 to 5 percent growth in the national income. That kind of growth can hardly any longer be expected of a boom phase in the capitalist countries. The yardsticks for a crisis are evidently chosen at will.

As was already pointed out, the socialist countries in CEMA are passing a phase of development in which certainly a number of complicated economic problems have to be solved. The central task for the European CEMA states is the extensive transition of the economy to an intensively expanded reproduction, its key issue being the scientific-technical progress and its broad economic utilization. This task conforms with the nature and requirements of the developed socialist society. It was posed during the 1970's--for instance in the SED Program. The altered conditions in the early 1980's, however, increase its importance and call for much briefer time frames for solving it. We cope with these problems on the basis of the socialist order, the advantages, impulses and potentials of socialism. Each step on this road is also a step toward reinforcing and further shaping the developed socialist society.

One of the most overworked anticommunist theses is the contention that the socialist society is unable to develop modern science and technology and so depends on the import of Western technology and the application of capitalist economic methods. No Marxist-Leninist has of course ever been seriously of the opinion the socialist countries should refrain from the international division of labor, as long as they derive economic benefits from it. And furthermore--the countries in the socialist community also see a promising way in it for promoting the peaceful cooperation of states and undergirding detente. Not the socialist states, but the United States and other NATO countries are the ones that do all they can to use these economic relations as tools of pressure and political blackmail.

Practical experiences have long provided the evidence for what great scientific and technical achievements the Soviet Union and the socialist community at large are able to accomplish. The two Soviet Venus probes provide a new example for it. Even the Springer paper, DIE WELT, had to admit that the scientific achievement is enormous, that it demonstrated the high efficiency of the most modern Soviet technology, and was tested for its economic application. "Looking at the most recent Soviet success in space exploration, the West should not make the mistake and imagine Moscow's triumph was a result of the so-called technology-transfer, i.e., only a copy of Western technology." After referring to the fact that the Soviet Union has made pioneering achievements in many fields--starting with the first Sputnik--it continues: "The greatest danger is not that the Soviets copy Western



technology, but that they reach technological supremacy through their systematic research. Venera-13 and Venera-14 should serve us as an appropriate warning, 25 years after Sputnik."<sup>7</sup>

Particularly in connection with the scientific-technical revolution, socialism enjoys some remarkable advantages over capitalism. That includes mainly the fact that modern technology is used exclusively to elevate the working people's material and cultural standard of living and preserve peace, the social management and planning supporting that aim and, not last, the inseparable connection between scientific-technical progress, economic growth, and social progress. The most important task is to find and resolutely pursue the ways that best conform with socialism, so that these advantages become extensively effective. The capitalist order, ridden by deep crises in all domains of public life and further intensifying social conflicts, is no model for the further shaping of the economy in the developed socialist society.

With all they have basically in common, there are differences in prerequisites for solving the tasks of the 1980's among the socialist countries. Thus the conceptions of the various parties in the socialist countries are not in every respect identical. The SED, based on the economic strategy of the 10th party congress, seeks to make its contribution to proving that socialism can solve the economic and social problems of our days in the interest of the working people. It was possible to increase the rate of economic growth in the GDR year after year since 1979; quantitative growth was achieved solely by exhausting the sources of qualitative growth, and on that basis it became possible to carry out important socio-political measures.

This economic development of the GDR becomes especially interesting in the context of the anticommunist contention that the "Soviet socialist model" had failed. First it has to be pointed out that in the theory and practice of scientific socialism no such concept of model exists because it is scientifically imprecise and, at least, ambiguous. Rather, Marxism-Leninism starts from the proposition that the socialist revolution and the construction of socialism and communism are determined by a number of universal inevitabilities which must, however, always be brought to realization under specific national conditions. That, of course, makes the course of the socialist revolution different from country to country. As history has demonstrated, socialism can be successful only if account is taken both of the universal inevitabilities and the specific national conditions. The Soviet Union was first in bringing it to success, and the CPSU is the communist party with the biggest experiences, the thorough perusal of which has been and is a crucial source of strength for all communists.

The SED has sought and is seeking to enforce rigorously in its policy the universal inevitabilities while making a maximum use of the experiences of the CPSU. Bourgeois mass media therefore have often called the SED and the GDR a "model pupil" of the CPSU, which we have always considered a great honor. But this also shows the perfect nonsense of the anticommunist thesis on the failure of the "Soviet model." On the one side, it is to be recognized that the SED in its economic and social policy has always proceeded from the Marxist-Leninist positions of principle, has thoroughly studied the experiences of the CPSU, and is closely allied with it. At the same time, it cannot be denied that the GDR economy is developing with success.

In the early 1980's, under the impact of significantly altered international and domestic reproduction conditions, it becomes most apparent that finding and proceeding along specifically socialist ways of economic and social policy, and the organic combination between the scientific-technical revolution and the advantages of socialism, i.e., the maximum use of the potentials and possibilities of the socialist order, have become the fundamental task. One of the decisive objectives of the imperialist confrontation and arms buildup course, of its policy of threats and sanctions, and of its psychological warfare is to prevent our coping with this task. Precisely by way of thwarting such endeavors and by facing, and coping with, this task of the new decade, real socialism makes a critical contribution to strengthening the positions of peace and progress in the world, providing once again the evidence in our days for Marxism-Leninism's invincible vitality.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. Leonid Brezhnev, "USSR Undeterred for Peace and Against the Confrontation Course," NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, 3 March 1982, p 6.
2. Quoted from BLAETTER FUER DEUTSCHE UND INTERNATIONALE POLITIK, Cologne, No 3, 1981, p 363.
3. International Communications Agency (ICA), ed., WIRELESS BULLETIN FROM WASHINGTON, Bonn-Bad Godesberg, 8 September 1981.
4. AMERIKA DIENST, Bonn, 13 May 1981.
5. WIRELESS BULLETIN FROM WASHINGTON, 2 June 1981.
6. INTERNATIONAL HERALD TRIBUNE, Paris, 29 January 1981, p 5.
7. DIE WELT, Bonn, 8 March 1981, p 2.

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GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

SCHOOLS URGED TO REMEDY TALENT PROMOTION FAILURES

West German Commentary

Bonn IWE-TAGESDIENST in German No 55, 13 Apr 82 p 2

[Report from Berlin: "SED Criticizes Negligence in Talent Promotion." A translation of the East Berlin EINHEIT article cited below follows this commentary]

[Text] The theoretical SED journal EINHEIT (No 4, 1982) has accused the teachers in the GDR of negligence in individually promoting especially gifted pupils, particularly in the scientific-technical field. A timely spotting of such talent and consistently promoting it were of great economic importance. The opportunities provided for it in instruction were "far from being fully utilized." Special fields of interest to highly gifted pupils were often being "discounted as hobbies" by the teachers. Character traits of such children or adolescents like stubbornness, enthusiasm and mental flexibility were frequently not being "credited" in regular schooling and others, like imagination, disregarded or even felt to be uncomfortable. A serious block to talent promotion, according to the party journal, was a notion of "versatility" in the sense of expending capabilities for all fields. Then there remained too little strength and time for developing in fields in which young people could become most valuable to society. For that reason, it were a mistake to judge an individual by his average grade.

GDR Educator's Discussion

East Berlin EINHEIT in German Vol 37 No 4, Apr 82 (signed to press 15 Mar 82) pp 399-405

[Article by Prof Dr Edgar Drefenstedt, director, Institute for Theory and History of Pedagogy, GDR Academy of Pedagogical Sciences: "Promotion of Scientific-Technical Talents by Secondary Schools." Translations of articles cited in footnotes below are published under quoted headings in the following JPRS issues of this series: Footnote 9--"Talent Rather Than Ideology Decisive in Student Selection" (interview with Prof Gerhard Neuner, president, GDR Academy of Pedagogical Sciences), 80198, 26 Feb 82, No 1981, pp 7-11; Footnote 12--"Effective Methods for Science Talent Detection Outlined" (March 1981 EINHEIT article by Gerlinde Mehlhorn and Hans-Georg Mehlhorn), 77973, 30 Apr 81, No 1875, pp 25-33]

[Text] Paying still closer attention in our pedagogical work to each individual pupil, promoting all of them, and developing abilities and talents to a particular degree--therein lie the humanistic concern and social need our school has to face. How can we more closely combine a broad development with promoting the preconditions for potential top achievements? What powers derive especially from instruction, the pupils' productive work, extra-curricular activity, optional instruction and self-education processes for promoting talent in the scientific-technical field?

The 10th party congress has asked "better to utilize still all opportunities in detecting, purposefully developing and systematically promoting gifts and talents in time."<sup>1</sup> This task has induced teachers, school functionaries and pedagogical scientists to address more strongly the problems of the development of each individual pupil and of steadily forming individual performance potentials with their commensurate performance readiness especially in fields that are of great importance to the acceleration of scientific-technical progress. The long-term orientation of the Eighth Pedagogical Congress on promoting all pupils, still paying more attention to each individual throughout all our pedagogical work, detecting and surmounting temporary difficulties in good time, and particularly developing facilities and talents<sup>2</sup> has been made more specific in the "Open Letter to All Pedagogues in the GDR"<sup>3</sup> and in the discussion material of the Ministry for Public Education in preparation of the Central Directors Conference.<sup>4</sup>

#### Promoting Talent--Need and Possibility

To combine the advantages of socialism with the scientific-technical revolution, it is necessary to make full economic use of the high and constantly rising educational level and pay special attention to educational lead time. In connection with it, important consequences result from the ratio between general performance development and producing top performances for preparing our new generation for its future tasks. To the schools this means tying up closely and on all levels and in all forms of our educational system a high general education and all-round personality development with systematically shaping specific performance potentials while making the fullest use of and increasing the pupils' special performance prerequisites.

Socialist society needs top achievements to improve thoroughly the technical and technological production level, facilitate a still more rational use of energy and raw material resources, and greatly boost the social labor capacity. High achievements in science and technology greatly depend on the selection and purposeful development of especially suitable cadre.<sup>5</sup> This selection normally is made during or after college or technical school studies, during vocational training or in the labor process itself. Talent promotion in the scientific-technical field at the secondary school, including preschool education, which is so important for a favorable individual development, is, essentially, meaningful only with an eye to advanced training institutions, vocations and the challenges of life. Talent promotion at school is only part of the overall social process of detecting, developing and utilizing talents. Yet already at the preschool and school-age, the opportunities for later working with especially gifted young people are greatly predetermined, expanded or confined, depending on the extent to which the need for purposeful talent promotion is recognized during this important period of development

and the potentials, latent on each individual level and in the various forms, are used and increased step by step. After graduation, it is normally difficult to develop special talents, unless crucial general and special prerequisites were laid for that task before. That is why more and more scientists, college teachers, and representatives of enterprises and public institutions are making contact with the schools, take an active part in the various forms of educational and training work, and concern themselves with pupils who are especially interested in their field.

Talent promotion conforms with the basic trend in the further development of schools of, mainly, improving the quality of pedagogical work. Together with extending solid, applicable and systematic basic knowledge, talent promotion calls for developing the abilities of each individual and combining general and special facilities (as a prerequisite for especially high achievements in particular fields). Society needs people with specific basic knowledge, abilities and properties; it also needs diversified and specific capabilities and performance prerequisites. It needs special gifts for special accomplishments.

The more pupils advance in age and the clearer it becomes what their further education and development will be like, the more important becomes their individual profile and the assessment of their special capabilities. This was among the measures at which the further development of the upper high school grades was addressed.\*

Talent promotion conforms with social requirements. It is aimed at all-round personality development and conforms with the interest of the children and adolescents themselves and with our humanistic position of unfolding the skills, talents and abilities of each individual.

#### Breadth and Peak Are no Alternatives

The 10th party congress has demanded to devote still more effectively the opportunities of public education "to promoting each as necessary so he will find his place in life and devotes his capacities and capabilities to the good of the people and his own good."<sup>6</sup> Talent promotion in our educational system has to combine the broadening with promoting the prerequisites for top performances. Talent promotion thus embraces all measures that produce, prepare and aid a specific capability and readiness for performance. The sooner such measures become practicable, the more fully can we make use of our fund of talent. For that, the various opportunities for development have to be used still more effectively. On the lower grades and partly even on the upper grades in school, it is not always so easy to see (in terms of scientific-technical talent prospects) which promotion measures will in fact lead to especially high performance prerequisites. Fairly accurate forecasts are possible. Our experiences thus far, however, tell us that at school-age it is useful to conceive of talent promotion as an element of the individual promoting of all pupils and act accordingly. Individual promotion includes the task to detect special skills, shape individual advantages, form appropriate interests and ideas of life, and test a given talent for its depth, promotion capacity and degree of development. Many schools make great efforts in this sense.<sup>7</sup>

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\*This article does not in particular deal with the tasks of college preparation and the role of special schools.

from this broad-range promotion, as it were, there arises, step by step, the reservoir for the highly gifted and top talents, and then it becomes necessary to work as soon as possible (which may certainly differ from pupil to pupil who has special gifts) and, mainly, consistently with such gifted pupils.

Not only the desire to place top talent on a broad-range promotional base and to contribute, through promoting all, to the improvement of the entire performance potential and its use under the aspect of special suitability for special tasks expresses, to be sure, this dialectic between breadth and peak. To create prerequisites for peak performance, one must not look too narrowly at the promotion of especially talented pupils. Overall personality development always has to be kept in mind. Talent promotion in the scientific-technical field must be placed on the kind of developmental basis which will make it possible for the young person to remain sufficiently available throughout his further activities for rising, time and time again, to new challenges. That includes a firm and developed system of knowledge, general mental or intellectual-practical interests and appropriate moral attitudes and, especially, the ability to perform intellectually demanding tasks.

Talent promotion also depends (and all the more so, the higher the objective) on the purposeful promotion of special interests and activities with the time and effort they may take, on turning to special "favorite fields." Wrong as it would be to aim at outstanding achievements purchased with time confinements and one-sidedness--as has often been the case with so-called infant prodigies-- a notion of "versatility" in the sense of applying one's capacities equally to all fields likewise turns out to be detrimental. Then there is too little strength, time and inducement left for young persons to develop in precisely those fields in which they could become most valuable to society (and a particular collective). This then also wastes the chance to develop fully their individualities. This is but another reason for more resolutely criticizing modes of thinking and procedure that are judging an individual by his average grade.

#### Better Use of Available Potentials!

We have set up an educational system that provides favorable prerequisites for talent promotion; more still must be made of them. On every level (preschool, lower, middle and upper grades) there are special opportunities for creating general as well as specific foundations for the shaping of individual advantages and particular capabilities. We must proceed here from the all-day pedagogical process which, on the lower level, e.g. (with instruction, nursery and family education), along with largely uniform elements, also contains important opportunities to take account of a child's differentiated individual characteristics. The same applies also, in principle, though forms may differ, to the middle and upper grades. Deviations about a differentiated approach while the basics are all the same are gaining increasing importance. Also note that highly gifted children can normally master their school requirements at briefer periods. Many experiences suggest that the excess time should not be used for hurrying ahead but mainly for mental and intellectual-practical exercise and for probing special performance capabilities.

Among the potentials to be used still better stand out above all instruction, the pupils' productive work, extracurricular activity, forms of performance contests, optional instruction and self-education processes. All these areas have proven themselves in talent promotion. But they still have only been utilized in part, big differences being found among the various schools.



During school, instruction assumes the central role in the overall pedagogical process. The further steps in talent promotion greatly depend on how well the teachers cope with the high substantive demands made on instruction. In recent years, central measures have started a greater concentration on basics in their instruction. The point is to set priorities so that learning becomes more thorough and more time is available for capability development, the educational effectiveness of teaching, and attending to the pupils individually. Talent promotion in and through instruction depends especially on three qualitative criteria which the teachers seek to attain: Thoroughness, scholarliness, party-mindedness in acquiring knowledge; a steady application of skills to independent and creative study, combined with intellectual curiosity; and consideration for individual particulars, detecting individual potentials, and differentiated promotion.

Also the desire for a greater organizational-methodological variety in the dispensation of instruction is of great importance. From that, all pupils benefit--including the weaker ones. For talented pupils, ambitious instruction becomes a field of stimulation and testing at once. A problem-related lecture, reports or demonstrations by the pupils, explorative tasks and reports about them, research tasks, working within temporary groups, solving tasks with increasing degrees of difficulty, taking part in preparing instruction in technical laboratories, preparing experiments--all that and many other methods of high-grade instruction can promote the pupils' special interests and specific abilities in particular subjects. Then, based on shared interests, close ties develop between teaching specialists and gifted pupils that far transcend instruction and the subject of instruction; the teaching specialist functions as a mentor whose example, challenge and suggestion stimulate and direct a pupil's desire to get ahead. Many of such pupils are considered and used as assistants by their teachers. Such relations bear out the advantage of the system of specialized teachers in a specific way.

A great potential for talent promotion lies in the polytechnical character of our school, the connection between learning and productive work, the close relations between the school and the enterprise. That pertains to the attention given to the polytechnical principle in instruction, and to polytechnical instruction itself, especially in the productive work done by the senior pupils and their being familiarized with the tasks and problems in the effort on behalf of scientific-technical top achievements. The further shaping of the polytechnical character of the school aids the process of promoting scientific-technical talent. This is true of the developmental trends which are then meant to lead, via college study, to special capabilities in research and in managing production processes and is also true of those that develop technical and technological talents by means of specialized work training. Talent promotion opportunities available there must also be more fully used. With it, one has to seek a more intensive combination between job orientation and job decision. Vocational counseling ought to assign a high rank to special performance prerequisites that have surfaced in school.

Great opportunities for talent promotion, especially among senior pupils, result from the construction and extension of a system of optional instruction. There are special courses that gather pupils especially interested in a given field (fewer than in mandatory classes). Optional instruction is based on skeleton programs with centrally elaborated leads that ensure high-level instruction to be offered and conform with social requirements. At the same time, each program focuses on

A high degree of independent efforts, relevant projects, and on combining collective with differentiated individual activities. Right now, there are circa 200,000 pupils in grades 9 and 10 who take part in these "working teams on skeleton programs," half of them in courses in the mathematics-natural sciences-technical and in the productive-practical fields. That includes, e.g., electronics, microbiology, chemical technology and motor vehicle technology. Based on good instruction and combined with interest-related leisure-time activities, optional courses are something that can still be much developed further and can attract all pupils, guide and stabilize their interests, develop special skills, and promote talents. Particularly when a teaching specialist runs an optional course and influences other forms of extracurricular activity, he together with parents and other social forces can purposefully and continually promote the specific talents of pupils and test the degree and range of talent.

The palette of extracurricular activity provides favorable preconditions for each pupil to develop and satisfy interests, prove what he can do, and form special skills to an unprecedented degree. Many pupils still make too little use of these opportunities; often also, the value of discriminating extracurricular activity to developing the pupils' personalities is still underrated. The Eighth Pedagogical Congress issued a clear guideline for it: "The task has been assigned to get a better quality also out of extracurricular work. This means increasingly better satisfying the children's need for activity, interesting experiences, efforts and proving oneself, happiness and movement; it means purposefully developing their activity and initiative which will activate them in their leisure-time in the various fields, in politics, science, technical matters, art and sports."<sup>8</sup> The forms of extracurricular activity offer the broadest basis for talent promotion.

The Olympics, the MDM (Fair of the Masters of Tomorrow) and other forms of performance contests have stood up well. The mathematics olympics, e.g., have long become a mass competition. Some pupils make a showing every year, ever since first grade. Olympic assignments are chosen in such a way that special skills are not only induced but recognized as well. Especially important here also is the ratio between breadth and peak and are the eliminations, posing increasingly tougher tests, via the kreis and the bezirk all the way to central and international tests. It is necessary to work still more consistently with pupils whose special gifts have been recognized and to combine the contest movement still more with instruction. The model of the mathematics olympics can be followed beyond its current use to promote talent in many fields with substantive differentiations.

MDM has the largest membership. It includes workers, cooperative farmers, engineers, students, apprentices, pupils, and had almost one million members in 1980/81 and an additional 1.5 million pupils joining in with their hobbies and working models and the manufacture of teaching aids. The MDM movement demonstrates most clearly how to combine talent promotion at a broad range with an accountable scientific-technical progress. The quality of displays must be enhanced further, more pupils and assignments must be drawn into it, a repeated use of results must be ensured, and talented inventors must be encouraged systematically.

Pupils' associations or academies have been formed in recent years as another form for talent promotion. In 11 bezirk and 26 kreis towns there are some now. More than 14,000 pupils of grades 7 to 12 are participating regularly. In these associations, scientists and specialists of various fields provide new insights and

worthwhile experiences. The young people get the opportunity to deal with problems in science, technology and art in such a way that their interests are aroused and guided, and their horizon and knowledge are broadened. They work with the scientific method and try their hands in it. Their urge for knowledge is encouraged. Pupils associations are most apt to detect talents that could come up with peak performances some day.

All the forms referred to bear witness to how worthwhile it is for young interested people to meet representatives of their respective fields of interest. The growing interest in relatively unaided extracurricular activity confirms the thesis that secondary school education for all and the intellectual-cultural climate of our society elicit more advanced needs that have to be satisfied.

The family greatly affects the development of talent. Many families stimulate their children mentally or intellectually and practically and channel their interests in accordance with the greater public opportunities.<sup>9</sup> To be sure, this highly valuable family inducement sphere is still unevenly developed.<sup>10</sup>

Instruction and extracurricular activity in the broadest sense in reciprocal interaction (translated into a suitable rhythm of living) offer the pupils a rather broad and diversified field for becoming active, forming interests and developing capabilities. It is imperative to stimulate and guide the pupils' initiatives. Around the time they get to be 12 years of age, in certain pupils--depending on various factors--needs develop for self-study in certain fields of their interests. Surveys on the individual style of the activity and mode of living of such pupils<sup>11</sup> indicate the enormous energy they invest and the chances they use for their "favorite field," how they talk with adults and friends, study technical literature, carry out experiments, and purposefully pursue intellectual and practical aims. Such pupils make plans for their lives early and reach an extraordinary proficiency while they attend school--provided their interests and talents coincide. In our pedagogical work, such attitudes are supported in part, but then they also are too little observed or discounted as hobbies. Stimulation, attention and cautious guidance for such self-education processes should, however, become regular procedure in each school's talent promotion conception. Promotion always also means demanding something, and the most effective are the demands a young person places on himself. In many of these self-education processes in line with one's own objectives, the demands are fairly stiff, clear, and long-range, extending all the way to one's working life.

#### Systematic Extension of Talent Promotion

Looking at all the opportunities already in place, one can find enough handles for connecting all talent promotion measures in the scientific-technical field in such a way that talents are rationally accounted for and purposefully developed. It actually is possible for every school, together with other public forces in the territory, to turn talent promotion into a specific aspect of long-range planning, management and analysis. The forms of central performance contests and pupils' associations suggest how on the kreis and bezirk and up to the central levels, measures can be contemplated and promoted and which role would have to be played in this by the later recipients (colleges, combines and so forth).

The following considerations deserve special attention:

First, we must enhance the realization in all who are involved in this how imperative talent promotion in general is, and in the scientific-technical field in particular. In this context, one has met with some apprehension in discussions that other fields (sports, art, foreign languages) might be given short shrift by this. The fund of talent in the scientific-technical field may be regarded as fairly high. If top talent is prepared from a broad general base, society's needs in all important fields can be satisfied. In particular cases one may have to make a responsible decision one way or the other, because people capable of peak performances at times show a qualification profile that might be further developed either in the artistic or the scientific or technical design direction.

Second, it is imperative to improve our understanding individual particulars and traits that come under consideration in talent promotion. Surveys by the Central Youth Research Institute indicate that the main internal conditions are made up of initiative, dedication, tenacity, creative anxiety, enthusiasm, imagination, mental agility toward high achievements, and a performance willingness.<sup>12</sup> Such traits are not always credited in regular schooling, and others, like imagination, are disregarded or even felt to be uncomfortable. Talent promotion makes high demands on pedagogical work and on the teacher's rating capability, his social relations and his pedagogical skill. Training and advanced training face higher requirements here; research in pedagogy and psychology ought to address this task more rigorously.

Third, all experiences demonstrate how important it is firmly to integrate talent promotion with the communist education process. Extending talent and combining it with high dedication call from the outset for the greatest attention to the shaping of basic political-moral attitudes, valuable character traits, a sense of responsibility to society, the collective and oneself, and for making complete use of one's own potentials.

Fourth, what we have, in sum, shows the effect can be much improved through better cooperation and more continuity. We have referred to reserves available for it. Not until what we have is used more systematically can it become clear which gaps ought to be closed by supplementary forms and measures.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. Comrade Erich Honecker, "Bericht des Zentralkomitees der Sozialistischen Einheitspartei Deutschlands an den X. Parteitag der SED" (SED Central Committee Report to the 10th SED Congress), Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1981, p 98.
2. Cf. Margot Honecker, "Der gesellschaftliche Auftrag unserer Schule. VIII. Pädagogischer Kongress" (The Social Mission of Our School--Eighth Pedagogical Congress), Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1978, p 79.
3. Cf. DEUTSCHE LEHRERZEITUNG, No 2, 1981, pp 3 ff.
4. Ibid., No 4, 1982, pp 3-4.
5. Cf. Comrade Erich Honecker, op. cit., pp 87 and 89.
6. Ibid., p 98.



7. Cf., inter alia, Edgar Drefenstedt, "Individuelle Besonderheiten - individuelle Foerderung" (Individual Characteristics--Individual Promotion), Volk und Wissen Volkseigner Verlag, Berlin, 1981; Guenter Meyer and Bernhard Werner, "More Fully Detecting and Promoting Gifts and Talents," PAEDAGOGIK, No 10, 1981, pp 784 ff.
8. Margot Honecker, op. cit., p 62.
9. Cf. "Talent Rather Than Ideology Decisive in Student Selection--Interview With Prof Gerhard Neuner," SONNTAG, No 43, 1981, p 8.
10. Cf. e.g., Artur Meier, "Education and the Life-Style of School Youth," "Lebensweise und Sozialstruktur" (Life-Style and Social Structure), Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1981, pp 95-96.
11. Cf. Baerbel Spiewack, "Die Selbstbildung der aelteren Schueler" (Self-Education Among Senior Students), dissertation, GDR Academy of Pedagogical Sciences, Berlin, 1978.
12. Cf. Gerlinde Mehlhorn and Hans-Georg Mehlhorn, "Effective Methods for Science Talent Detection Outlined," EINHEIT, No 3, 1981, pp 245 ff.

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GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

EFFECTIVENESS OF MUSIC AS PROPAGANDA TOOL TO BE IMPROVED

West German Commentary

Bonn IWE-TAGESDIENST in German No 55, 13 Apr 82 'iwe-kultur' supplement

[Report from Berlin: "SED Worried About Population's Musical Education." A translation of the East Berlin EINHEIT article cited below follows this commentary]

[Text] The SED is evidently worried about the GDR citizens' musical education. In its most recent edition, the theoretical party organ EINHEIT (No 4, 1982) underscored the need "to pay greater attention to enhancing the musical education of our people and to effective music propaganda." What with all advances made, "much still" remained to be done here, inasmuch as, in particular by the electronic media, there was being spread an "extensive musical offering, marked by great differences in levels." What matters was to offer "aids in understanding and getting oriented" to those interested in music. One should not underrate the danger of dealing with music in a sense that "corrupts taste." Yet it was neither possible simply to "abolish" vacuous musical offerings, nor could works of contemporary music recognized as good ones be prescribed administratively to a large audience. Rather, it was imperative to broaden the effectiveness of demanding music in all genres and attract new listeners. Already in kindergartens, schools and enterprises one should arouse curiosity about contemporary musical works.

GDR Musicologist's Discussion

East Berlin EINHEIT in German Vol 37 No 4, Apr 82 (signed to press 15 Mar 82)  
pp 413-419

[Article by Dr Peter Spahn, first secretary, GDR Association of Composers and Musicologists: "On the Richness of Our New Music." A translation of an East Berlin SONNTAG article on a related subject is published under the heading, "Socialist Realism to Be Applied 'More Precisely' in Music," in JPRS 80140, 19 Feb 82, No 1977 of this series, pp 48-50]

[Text] How is music developing in the GDR, and how are disparate musical needs satisfied? A rich life of musical culture can in specific ways contribute to the formation of socialist personalities and their way of life and to emotionally deepening our world-outlook. What is to be done by music propaganda and composers--given all the joy in experimentation--for musical works to reach and enrich an ever growing circle of listeners?

Our people is rich in great musical traditions. German composers have produced significant compositional achievements which now are a solid component of the world's musical culture. Names like Schuetz and Telemann, Bach and Handel, Beethoven, Weber and Lortzing, Mendelssohn-Bartholdy and Schumann, Bruch, Humperdinck, R. Strauss, Hindemith, Wagner-Regeny, Eisler, Dessau and E. H. Meyer bear testimony to that.

The Dresden and the Berlin Staatskapelle, the Leipzig Gewandhaus Orchestra, the Dresden Philharmonic and the Berlin Symphony, the radio symphony orchestras in Berlin and Leipzig as much as many other orchestras, important chamber music ensembles, vocalists and instrumentalists testify to the richness of the German musical culture. This legacy must be preserved and responsibly extended. Tributes on the occasion of anniversaries of Bach and Beethoven, to the achievements of Mendelssohn-Bartholdy and Reger, the cultivation of Handel, the exploration of the works of Telemann, Schumann, Weber and many other masters demonstrate that this legacy is being fostered and further explored in our republic.

Imbued with this responsibility and in the knowledge that audience expectations are becoming more diversified and qualitative criteria are rising, our composers and musicologists, interpreters and music educators see to it that music in its whole breadth, including new music, reaches many people, that especially working people and young people enjoy it, that they find themselves stimulated by music to ponder and reflect, gain confidence from it and find pleasure and relaxation in it.

#### Music and the Socialist Way of Life

Music accompanies men on many stations through life--including that which we call our new music. It embraces a broad scale of artistic achievements and includes all music produced in our country today. That includes compositions for the concert hall and the music theater, works for dances and rock concerts, songs for children in preschool facilities, for the young pioneers and the FDJ members, festive songs for brigade celebrations and marches for our army members, compositions for festivals and celebrations, music for movies, radio-plays and dramas, works for brass bands and popular instrumental ensembles, choral numbers, chansons and many other things.

To its dissemination there contribute, among others, the 88 state orchestras, the radio programs, the two television programs, the 43 music theaters, millions of records and cassettes, many events in the community halls and clubs, the concert and guest performance managements, and the phonotheques. So diversified is our new music that we can no longer help but be selective in enjoying it. Everyone has to choose, no one can any longer enjoy it all. While there are differences, territorially and in other respects, the choice for selection is rich.

Sociological surveys over many years indicate that music tops artistic needs, which needs keep differentiating further. Motives for interest in and expectation of music are extremely diverse. Many people listen to music for the mood they derive from it. They can then relax and recover. They listen to music because they associate important artistic experiences with it, because music promotes fellowship or because they like it as a "noise screen" while being busy with something else. Music has many functions and is needed in many situations in life. It can make a great contribution to creating cultured forms of social interhuman relations, unfolding mental facilities and emotionality. That is why our musical performances and offerings have to be broad and multifaceted.

All social classes and strata in our society and all age-groups have a great need for good music in all genres of the past and present. In recent years, families have greatly upgraded their radio and television equipment, record and tape players and cassette recorders. There are records in more than half of the households in the GDR. Many apartments have already become small "music centers."

Musical interests that are satisfied away from home are growing as well. There was a 50-percent rise in the number of concert audiences in the last 10 years, for school and youth concerts it even went up to 62 percent. More than 150,000 people sing and make music in popular art collectives, half of them workers and employees. All this and many other things demonstrate that dealing with substantial music of all genres every day has become a regular habit, a need, especially among young people. "In all this we of course do not ignore," Comrade Erich Honecker stated at a meeting with culture and art creators, "that there are different levels, at times even contradictions, in the way these needs develop. They are not spontaneous and do not automatically go hand in hand with improvements in the material standard of living. Rather, they call for a permanent, conscious and systematic promotion by our party and all social forces."<sup>1</sup>

In this sense, the creative activity of the creators and disseminators of music and their public efforts are aimed at purposefully affecting the further development of musical needs, proceeding from giving high-level satisfaction to existing interests. The party and the state allocate substantial material and financial means for it. Only recall the important places established in recent years for the dissemination of culture such as the Palace of the Republic in Berlin, the New Gewandhaus in Leipzig, the city-halls in Karl-Marx-Stadt, Cottbus and Suhl, and the House of Culture in Gera. Through conversion and redesign, the concert halls in Frankfurt/Oder, Magdeburg and Halle, the "New World" concert hall in Zwickau, and the Berlin-Friedrichsfelde Castle became centers for encountering traditional and contemporary music. Many concerts and other musical affairs are constantly sold out or they cannot accommodate the growing response. By the end of the current five-year plan, the Berlin concert hall, the Semper-Opera of Dresden and the Berlin Friedrichstadt Palace will be completed.

These impressive successes do not make us forget that some orchestras still rehearse and concertize under inadequate conditions and that the number of trained orchestra players is not high enough to fill all chairs. All the more must one appreciate the efforts these orchestras and ensembles are making toward musical performances for the benefit of a growing music audience.

Outside the concert halls and music theaters, the need for good music in all genres is growing as well. That is increasingly being satisfied by the national and international and territorial music festivals that originated or were revamped in recent years. They, along with the established and major concert events, offer more new and interesting forms of communicating with and encountering music. "Dresden Sings and Makes Music" became an entertaining and attractive event within the framework of the Dresden Music Festival. The brass music days, under radio sponsorship every year, brings many people together on the streets and squares of Gera Bezirk and Karl-Marx-Stadt Bezirk. During the GDR Music Days and the Music Biennials in Berlin, within the scope of the Political Song Festival, during the choral-symphonic days in Jena and the Sorbian Music Days--there and elsewhere one finds a great effort



being made at conforming to variegated needs in a discriminating fashion. And then there are still many other forms of music-making in galleries, parks, castles and excursion spots, musical-literary programs, enterprise and construction workers concerts, apprentices concerts and youth workers concerts which, along with the popular series, "Music Hour," "Winter Concerts in the Countryside," and the school and youth concerts, enrich musical life in the towns, villages and communities. Yet the available opportunities for a rich musical life are not yet used fully everywhere. Still there are considerable differences in the levels and continuity of musical offerings among the various kreises and territories. Tapping all reserves here is all the more necessary as a rich musical-cultural life also is part of socialism which through its variety will contribute to the formation of socialist personalities and their way of life.

The aesthetic feature of music is needed. It can artistically illuminate socialist concepts of value and ideals--often combined with words or other means of artistic expression. Thanks to its specific emotional and intellectual means of expression, music can neatly reproduce social moods and articulate social psychology. It is able to reflect the beauty of nature, morality and ethics, and profound philosophic substances at a high degree of artistic subjectivity. It affects many people's moods, feelings, sense of beauty and the development of their ability to enjoy themselves. It can arouse and inspire imagination, enhance creativeness, stir, capture and mobilize people, raise complaints and convey strength and confidence. It has a highly suggestive function which can do great things for emotionally deepening our world-outlook. In its own way, music can help "release creativeness in man and enhance the working people's pleasure in work and their comfort in socialist society."<sup>2</sup> That makes music irreplaceable, including our new music, in our aggregate of arts. For composers and listeners it is indispensable as a creative utterance, as an expression of their sense of life.

### Music and the Peace Struggle

The SED Central Committee welcoming address to the delegates conference of the Association of Composers and Musicologists in the GDR, which was held in February this year in Berlin, states: "Works of music, varied in their forms of expression, which capture the revolutionary breath of our life, and its struggles and conflicts, and which treat our claim to peace and happiness, lend valuable impulses to the life of the working people and their creative efforts. Each achievement counts that strengthens our country, and so does each musical utterance that enriches life and lends strength to the struggle for peace and socialism."<sup>3</sup>

This high demand--to take part in the political struggles of our time--is being met by composers, interpreters and other creators of music, musicologists, pedagogues and music critics. And here it is found that socialist realism in music-making, governed by party-mindedness, solidarity with the people and socialist substance of ideas, based on great skill and originality, amounts to the major trend in musical creativity. In many works, composers have successfully, artistically and convincingly transformed a realistic relationship with reality and a party-minded commitment to socialism. Our own and international musical development have created great traditions along those lines. Hanns Eisler, Paul Dessau and Ernst Hermann Meyer, e.g., and Dmitri Shostakovich, Sergei Prokofiev and others, have set standards that continue to be valid.

In all genres and types of music, a greater effort has been made, especially in recent years, to treat also by musical means, and attain high musical effects for, the theme of peace and the peace struggle, anti-imperialist solidarity, friendship with the Soviet Union and the other states in the socialist community, and the love for our socialist homeland. That the various works have uneven opportunities is due to the specifics in any given genre, their opportunities of being effective and being disseminated, the skill of the music makers, the intention to create something lasting and persuasive, and the ability of the listeners to open up to the substance of music while getting used to deal with a variety of modes of expression.

All important public events gave rise to new, important, dedicatory musical works. Youth and students' meetings, the orchestras' concert schedules, dance events, the songs of choirs and singing groups, the workers and enterprise festivals, the discussion of the music circles in the Culture League and, above all, radio and television transmissions are no longer even conceivable without contemporary music. Especially gratifying is that a new generation of composers is growing up that faces the subjects of our time with great political and artistic commitment and seeks to augment the wealth of music, its content and its modes of expression and design. Some of them use traditional forms of composition and elaborate in their compositions on musical creations of the past; others are boldly thrusting into new musical territory.

What certainly matters to every composer is to tell the listener something through a new work, to give him a message, to "deliver something," as Hanns Eisler put it so well. That is a highly complicated intellectual and artistic maturation process. Shostakovich once said the genuine mission of music is to give happiness to people, articulate the beauty of life, and call to battle for a better future. That is not a matter of certain genres, of a particular musical form, of specific means of music-making. All types of new music contribute to that today. Many composers in our republic espouse that function by word and deed. That became so apparent while preparing and conducting the delegates conference of the Association of Composers and Musicologists in the GDR. Leading composers took to the floor and clearly expressed their loyalty to the GDR and the defense of socialism, which dedication also found expression in many of their works performed during the 1982 GDR Music Days, at the Political Song Festival and during the affairs called "Rock for Peace" and "Solo Beat."

Many new compositions have been premiered in recent years; yet no one can claim that they have already found sufficient acceptance in our territorial musical events and the musical life in our republic. Many premieres remain without repeats. That is likely caused by a number of things. In general it may be said, however, that wherever a clear, party-minded stance favoring the ideals and values of socialism combined with convincing, understandable and original modes of presentation, receptivity encountered little trouble. Designs by some composers expressing their concerns in unusual patterns afflicted a number of musical achievements with the notion they had just been written for specialists, for cognoscenti.

Concert audiences sometimes complain they have trouble especially with newer symphonic and chamber music in detecting what it is all about, that it does not conform with their ideas of beauty in music, and that this music is not emotional enough. Composers, in turn, argue that musical culture leaves much to be desired

and new works in particular ought to be spread more broadly. Who would quarrel with the existence and further development of differentiated musical needs? The question is how to create an interested public climate which arouses curiosity and understanding especially for new symphonic and chamber music? And how will the composers manage to have their works reach and enrich an ever increasing circle of listeners--with all their pleasure in experimenting, which is legitimate and necessary in musical composition? That precisely is why the composer cannot be released from his responsibility to face time and again the problem of making his music intelligible.

### Music and Listeners

No longer is it the case, as had still been assumed a few decades ago, that the "fate" of German music is decided in school. Yet even so, there does exist a close connection between a great capacity for pleasure in the acquisition of musical works and the general level of a musical culture. For many years, the GDR has had a systematically developed musical education and training system of high international rank. For each of the 10 grades in the general education polytechnical secondary school, there are well prepared mandatory music curricula. It was possible to expand further the network of music schools. Ten years ago, we only had 86 schools. Now we have one hundred plus 240 facilities off the premises. Already in the day-nurseries and kindergartens important work is being done to stimulate a sense for music among our infants. Singing, dancing, music making are as much part of it as are the use of records and radio listening. Especially for that purpose, many composers have produced new works that are most popular. To be sure, there hardly exists any other art where expert assistance and target-directed guidance are as necessary as in some musical activities. This problem of art education also is referred to in the Open Letter to All Pedagogues in the GDR, that states, among other things: "By intensively dealing with works of art in instruction, the pupils are challenged to express their opinions, positions and attitudes about those works of art; their thoughts, feelings, volitions and actions are stimulated, their perception is sharpened about human greatness and conflicts, their ethical-moral values are shaped, and the joy and pleasure in art and literature and in their own aesthetic judgment are enhanced." And worthwhile questions were also raised with regard to the field of music: "Do we do enough for that in our instruction? Do we not have to work harder on conveying literature and art to the pupils in a more party-minded and relevant manner, moving them closer to the works of art in a way that will make them reflect, touch and affect both their hearts and their minds, form their perception and character?"<sup>6</sup>

Especially because many people's need for music is growing, because our children, long before they learn to read and write, sing with great enthusiasm and listen to music, and because we have such an extensive supply of music available, marked by great differences in levels, it is imperative to pay greater attention to developing further our people's musical culture and to effective music propaganda. With regard to a target-oriented long-range conception on the people's musical education and training and an effective music propaganda, despite all advances made, much remains to be done. The technical reproduction opportunities for music and a vast network of institutions disseminating music make possible today, to an unprecedented and perfectly positive degree, a music for all.

Having such large supplies of traditional and contemporary music available, it is important to offer music appreciation and guidance to the ones interested in music. That implies a relation between music and its audience which gets a communication going with and about music—including precisely also those works of new musics that are at times not very accessible—, and which motivates, stimulates, encourages and releases creativeness, so that real help is provided for dealing with musical matters.

Regardless of genres and places of performance, our developed dissemination and transmission techniques allow access to almost all music. In that sense, music is the most mass-related of all arts. Rapt attention given to music is as much a part of a life with music as is any perfunctory attention to particular musical phrases and sounds while one is busy with something else. Deliberate and subliminal listening often go side by side. But both mold musical sensitivity, musical relations. That is why one should not underrate the danger of dealing with music in a sense that corrupts taste. That also explains why there is more of a public issue now about the value criteria and effects in our musical supplies. Neither is it possible simply to "abolish" a careless massive dissemination of it, nor can works of contemporary music recognized as good ones be "prescribed" administratively to a large audience. To a socialist cultural policy it, therefore, is a central concern to enhance further the effectiveness of demanding music in all genres and attract new listeners, especially from the working class and youth.

A high and rich musical culture implies and necessitates a high and rich musical education. It also necessitates a new dimension in cooperation, at the training institutions and the institutions that disseminate music as much as among the creators of music. Social organizations, mainly the youth association and the trade unions, have a high stake in this. The objective of all endeavors must be to turn the performance of new music more than has been the case into impressive experiences and occasions for vivid issue-taking with topical problems of our times.

The concert hall has a high place value in this, offering a communal experience in beautiful surroundings and an unrepeatable opportunity to take part in the "production" of a musical event. How attractive the New Gewandhaus in Leipzig is has been seen even during the first few months after it opened. Thousands of citizens from all parts of the GDR have attended these concerts. For many, it was the first great exposure to a concert and lent an impetus to further exposures of this kind. Many here also became acquainted with new works by our composers. Yet even outside the concert hall, there are well tested forms and opportunities for hearing contemporary music, engage in frank and argumentative music debates, and receive impressive music experiences. Attractive types of performances in youth and residential area clubs, in enterprise and governmental community halls, in local recreational areas and vacation homes offer suitable opportunities for it that have so far not been used yet sufficiently.

Whereas there already exists a noteworthy tradition in talking about recent works in the visual arts, the movies or television in our republic, a certain reticence still exists with regard to contemporary symphonic and chamber music and opera and other musical genres. Hardly any trade union group has a culture and education plan that pays any attention to new compositions, and the basic PAV organizations, responsible as they are for our young generation's musical and aesthetic education, still do too little to counteract one-sided musical interests among many adolescents.



Therefore, it is most gratifying that at the delegates conference of the GDR Association of Composers and Musicologists many leading composers, musicologists, pedagogues, and interpreters announced their readiness to do more in terms of music propaganda in the schools and youth and work collectives.

To be successful, musical education and propaganda have to rely greatly on a many-sided participation by broadcasting, television and the press. All opportunities of journalism are to be used for that. More than hitherto we must consider that the public is interested not only in specific musical works in question, but also in the composers, their lives, in what has stimulated their works, what intentions are being pursued, and in how they work. All that determines the substance of a target-directed music propaganda. The object must be--and this is what many creators of music are in fact trying to accomplish--to create an interesting public climate, arouse curiosity for contemporary musical works in kindergartens, schools, enterprises and people's solidarity clubs, and establish an audience which, through feedback, affects musical productivity and the dissemination, receptivity and cultivation of the sense of music. That is necessary because it is part of the nature of socialism to produce a wealth of new music that contributes to the enrichment and receptivity of people, broadens their spiritual universe, provides lasting experiences with art, and leads to well-being, amusement, pleasure and joy in life in and for socialism.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. Erich Honecker, "Our Party's Cultural Policy Is Being Implemented With Success," "Unerschuetterliches Buendnis zwischen Partei und Kulturschaffenden" (Unshakable Alliance Between Party and Creators of Culture), Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1979, p 42.
2. Comrade Erich Honecker, "Bericht des Zentralkomitees der Sozialistischen Einheitspartei Deutschlands an den X. Parteitag der SED" (SED Central Committee Report to the 10th SED Congress), Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1981, p 105.
3. "Socialist Musical Culture Enriches the Life of the People," NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, 18 February 1982, pp 1-2.
4. "Offener Brief an alle Paedagogen der Deutschen Demokratischen Republik," DEUTSCHE LEHRERZEITUNG, No 21, 1981, p 5.

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CSO: 2300/273

BOOK ON HISTORY OF TRADE UNION FEDERATION REVIEWED

East Berlin EINHEIT in German Vol 37 No 4, Apr 82 (signed to press 15 Mar 82)  
pp 436-439

[Review by Prof Dr Ernst Diehl, member, SED Central Committee; deputy director, Institute for Marxism-Leninism, SED CC; chairman, GDR Council for History Studies; of book, "Geschichte des Freien Deutschen Gewerkschaftsbundes" (History of the Free German Trade Union Federation), by author collective headed by Prof Dr Heinz Deutschland; published by Verlag Tribuene, East Berlin, 1982]

[Text] In the central committee report to the 10th SED Congress, Comrade Erich Honecker remarked: "With its nearly 9 million members, the FDGB is making an important contribution to the shaping of the developed socialist society and the all-round strengthening of our socialist state."<sup>1</sup> It is, not last, our knowing what has been successfully accomplished and the awareness to be pursuing the correct course that give us the strength to cope with the responsible tasks of the 1980's. It therefore conforms with our ripened social needs that a "Geschichte des Freien Deutschen Gewerkschaftsbundes" (History of the Free German Trade Union Federation) is published on the occasion of the 10th FDGB Congress, which pays tribute to the achievements of millions of unionists in the struggle for socialism and peace and conveys experiences of our struggle that remain valid for the future.

For the first time, a cohesive survey is offered, oriented to party resolutions and as the outcome of thorough scientific research, on developments from the beginnings of the German trade union movement to the FDGB's active participation in the shaping of the developed socialist society in the GDR. Many illustrations and documents as well as vivid accounts supplementing the text, about trade union life and struggle, and the deeds of trade unionists and activists, enhance the conviction and effectiveness of the presentation.

The work accounts for the enormous revolutionary and creative strength of our country's workers class as the leadership class in its struggle against capitalist rule and for its overthrow, for establishing the workers and farmers power and the construction of a new socialist society, free from exploitation. It shows that the successful implementation of the historic mission of the workers class, led by a battle-tested Marxist-Leninist party, is inseparably linked with united trade unions, acting from firm class positions. In confronting attempts made in the international class struggle arena to tear the revolutionary party away from the trade unions, in fact to place them in opposition with each other, it is being clearly shown by means

of our experiences that the firm community of struggle between the party and the trade unions has been and is decisive for all victories in the revolutionary transformation process in the GDR and for all historic achievements by the workers class and its allies and for their utterly successful representatives of interests. "The trade unions," according to Comrade Erich Honecker, "have largely helped shape the countenance of the GDR workers class as the leading class that exercises the power. Its political and ideological maturity, its creative strength in shaping socialism, and its great impact on all domains of public life are inseparable from decades of successful activities by the FDGB."<sup>2</sup>

### Committed to the Best Traditions

The "Geschichte" relies on the basic positions by the classic authors of Marxism-Leninism on the role of the trade unions in working class struggle against the capitalist exploiter system and for bringing socialism to realization. Vividly and persuasively, the FDGB role is presented as the legitimate continuation of all great struggles and achievements in a more than 100-year history of the German trade union movement. By concentrating on the main lines and events, the reader is given a picture of the historic preconditions out of which the FDGB grew as a federation, and of those traditions and norms--like proletarian fighting spirit, discipline, devotion to organization and solidarity--that have grown out of long trade union struggles and survive under fundamentally changed social conditions.

One of the strengths of the book is that it describes the great traditions in communist trade union policy created by the KPD, that mainly attach to the efforts of Ernst Thaelmann. Many facts testify to the active role of the communists as unionists, who kept their loyalty to the working class cause even under the toughest conditions of the struggle and stood up as consistent, resolute and dedicated representatives of the working people's interests.

Issue is taken, on principle, with all opportunistic trends appearing in the history of the trade union movement, seeking to deprive the trade unions of their class character or mislead them into a policy of "class cooperation" with capital and accepting, even actively assisting, the capitalist rule of exploitation. The most timely experience becomes vivid here to the effect that often such policy is coupled with anticommunism and severely damages the interests of the working people. The presentation reminds us of the fateful defeats and great sacrifices such a policy extracted from the German workers class and the other working people, as during the imperialist World War I or in the outcome of the November Revolution, all the way to the shameful capitulation policy of rightwing trade union leaders in 1933, which made it easier for the fascists in power to crush the trade unions. It is being shown persuasively that by founding the FDGB fundamental lessons and experiences in the history of the German and international trade union movements were taken to heart consistently. Evolved from the struggles of several generations of unionists of different political convictions and ideological positions against exploitation and capital rule, the FDGB grew and became strong while taking issue of principle with all manifestations of bourgeois ideology, opportunism, anticommunism and anti-Sovietism.

The FDGB was founded as the immediate result of the powerful search for unity between the workers class and the other working people, mightily surging ahead once our country was liberated by the Soviet Union from Hitler fascism. Closely linked with the founding of the SED, the decisions made by the First FDGB Congress in February 1946 marked a turning point in the history of the German trade union movement. That was expressed by overcoming the split in the trade unions through creating a unified trade union organization as much as in the unanimous affirmation by that congress that the trade unions, the militant representatives of working class interests, would fully and actively participate in the social transformation process that had just gotten started.

### Proven as a School of Socialism

The book discusses in detail the profound changes in the role and place of the trade unions in our society which came about in the outcome of the revolutionary transformation process, mainly through establishing the power of the workers class and its allies in the GDR. In our country too, V. I. Lenin's universally valid realization was confirmed: "Along with the greatest transformation that began in history when the proletariat seized political power, the trade unions in all their activities are making a gigantic change."<sup>3</sup>

Led by the party, the FDGB in the second half of the 1940's addressed the objectively then matured fundamentally new tasks. It meant actively contributing to strengthening the state under workers class leadership and to the consolidation and development of the new production relations, and it meant enabling the working people to meet their test as the creators and builders of the new society. The authors describe the trade union participation in the transition to long-term economic planning, in the formation of a new attitude toward their socialist state, marked by a new and deep sense of responsibility, and toward labor in our society and toward public property. We are reminded of the tough conflicts that had to be waged against opportunistic concepts and obsolete ideas, against all those who wanted to capitulate before the difficulties in setting up a new society.

By declaring its loyalty to the workers and farmers state, to the leadership role of the SED, and to friendship with the Soviet Union, the Third FDGB Congress in August and September 1950 became a milestone on the course that turned the trade unions into schools of socialism. The FDGB's resolutely addressing the new substance of the trade union movement was the crucial basis for the successes and achievements in its assuming and enforcing the working people's interests as no other organization in the history of the German trade union movement had ever done.

This historically significant balance-sheet unmaskes the hypocrisy of all those in capitalist countries who noisily "regret" the role of the trade unions in socialism. This "Geschichte" discloses the mendaciousness as well as the counterrevolutionary objective of such utterances and demonstrates that the workers and farmers state, socialism in the GDR, guarantees the trade unions unprecedented opportunities for effectively representing the interests of the workers class and of all working people.



With every new stage in the revolutionary transformation process, the role of the workers class grew, which gave greater responsibility and influence to the FDGB as the largest and most comprehensive class organization. By means of ample material it is being impressively demonstrated that through the strengthening of socialism increasingly more favorable conditions arise objectively for trade union activity in all decisive domains of society and the field is constantly broadening for trade union representation of interests. Nothing of it came by itself; that much is clear. The party and the trade unions, based on the wealth of ideas and creative spirit of the workers class, and guided by Marxist-Leninist theory, constantly had to find answers for newly ripened and sometimes complicated problems in trade union work, while making use of fundamental experiences of the Soviet Union and other fraternal socialist countries.

#### The Main Task as a Reliable Compass

Much space is given to FDGB activity in the 1970's, in shaping the developed socialist society under the aegis initiated by the significant resolutions of the Eighth and Ninth SED Congress. It becomes apparent how much purposeful activity the Central Committee and its general secretary, Comrade Erich Honecker, developed to elaborate and implement the general party line, aimed at the well-being of the people. "The FDGB," Comrade Harry Tisch affirms, "was able to achieve the biggest boost to its representation of interests at a time when the policy of the Eighth SED Congress had made the working class leadership role more prominent."<sup>4</sup> For more than a decade already has the main task policy, in its unity of economic and social policy, proven itself a reliable compass for trade union representation of interests. Important results of this course, aimed at improving the material and cultural living conditions of the workers class and all other working people, are underscored by the social experience that under the conditions of socialism dedicated and industrious work pays off and bears fruit--for society as for the individual. This points to an important potential for the needed significant performance improvements by which we will be able to carry on the main task consistently throughout the 1980's under significantly changed conditions, as the 10th SED Congress has resolved.

The "Geschichte" pays tribute to the high place value of trade union participation in the management and planning of social processes and to the role of the FDGB as a motor for socialist emulation. Vividly sketched is the course from the first acts of activists and contests, aimed at overcoming the terrible consequences of fascism and war, down to the socialist mass competitions borne by millions early in our decade, in which our coping with scientific-technical progress and our connecting its achievements with the advantages of socialism came to assume the central place. Led by the party, on this road, under the signature of socialism, millions of workers and other working people changed social conditions and changed themselves along with it. They created the solid foundations for all the successes in our effort of socialist construction and in our struggle against imperialism, and for peace, whereby they determined the continuity and stability of our development.

The book impressively describes the extensive FDGB efforts toward improving the working people's working and living conditions. It is shown that trade union representation of interests embraces all questions that belong into the life of working men. Even in its earliest period, the FDGB always combined its participation in fundamental revolutionary transformations with advocating the working

people's elemental vital interests--which at that time often was just one warm meal per day for the hungry, or a warm room or a roof over their head. Comparing those initial conditions with the extensive sociopolitical measures instituted since the eighth party congress demonstrates the enormous achievements which--thanks, not last, to the efforts of the FDGB--have been accomplished by the working people under the workers and farmers power. Described are various sides of the trade unions' sociopolitical activities--as in health protection and labor safety and in the implementation of a performance-oriented wage policy, as much as for the recreation of the working people and for taking care of the sick, the disabled and the veterans of labor.

Much room is given over to the activity of the FDGB as an active force for consolidating and strengthening socialist state power. Many facts demonstrate its participation in the preparation and elaboration of fundamental codices of law, in plan debate and ratification, and in workers and farmers inspection. The trade unions have a significant share in developing socialist democracy at places where millions of working people do their daily work--in the enterprises and institutions. They are always regarded themselves as honor bound to do everything to ensure at all times a reliable armed protection of our socialist achievements and, actively, the defense of peace against any imperialist aggressors.

Trade union work and representation of interests are unthinkable without the dissemination of knowledge and socialist convictions, without conveying the basic positions of the scientific workers class theory and the treasures of socialist culture as well as humanistic culture as such. The "Geschichte" indicates that the FDGB has always paid much attention to ideologically and technically training its members, the workers class and all other working people--starting with the early training offered at the time the FDGB was founded all the way to the schools for socialist labor, in which today three million working people acquire basic Marxist-Leninist knowledge as well as new production experiences.

The reader is provided with a multifaceted and vivid picture on the high rank of trade union activity in our socialist society. Time and time again, tribute is paid to the undefatigable work of activists and innovators and of trade union functionaries. Trade union work is largely voluntary and is done by hundreds of thousands of elected functionaries. Countless workers and other working people have, through the exercise of trade union functions, turned into experienced and steadfast fighters for socialism and gained the skill to assume high responsibilities. This presentation expresses high tribute while it also gives new encouragement.

Impressive are the remarks made about the FDGB's firm internationalist positions, its efforts on behalf of the revolutionary world process and the strengthening of the positions of socialism and of peace. A proper place is given over to the formation and development of close fraternal relations between the Soviet trade unions and the FDGB. In every stage of its struggle, the FDGB has greatly benefited from the rich experiences of the Soviet trade unions in the various social domains and applied them in accordance with the tasks to be solved. Fruitful also has been the cooperation and experience exchange with the trade union organizations in other fraternal socialist countries.

The book depicts the active role the FDGB has played within the WFTU, its efforts in joint actions by the international trade union movement against imperialism and for peace and social progress. By many examples it is persuasively being shown how the ideas of proletarian solidarity became motivations for millions of trade unionists in the GDR and how much respect the GDR trade unions have acquired in the ranks of the international workers and trade union movement.

The "Geschichte" impressively traces the course our trade unions have taken in more than 3 1/2 decades under the leadership and by the side of the Marxist-Leninist party, serving the interests of the workers class and all working people. On that foundation, guided by the 10th party congress resolutions, the FDGB directs the strength and initiative of its members at conforming with the ambitious tasks of the 1980's.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. Comrade Erich Honecker, "Bericht des Zentralkomitees der Sozialistischen Einheitspartei Deutschlands an den X. Parteitag der SED" (SED Central Committee Report to the 10th SED Congress), Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1981, p 120.
2. Erich Honecker, "Thirty Years Successful Trade Union Work," "Reden und Aufsätze" (Speeches and Essays), Vol III, Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1976, p 131.
3. V. I. Lenin, "Speech on the Second All-Russian Trade Union Congress," "Werke" (Works), Vol 28, Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1959, p 438.
4. Harry Tisch, "FDGB National Executive Committee Report to the Ninth FDGB Congress," "Protokoll des 9. FDGB-Kongresses" (Ninth FDGB Congress Proceedings), Tribüne publishing house, Berlin, 1977, p 17.

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AUTOBIOGRAPHICAL WORK BY SED POLITBURO'S NORDEN REVIEWED

East Berlin EINHEIT in German Vol 37 No 4, Apr 82 (signed to press 15 Mar 82)  
pp 440-442

[Review by Oda Schulze, historian, Institute for Marxism-Leninism, SED Central Committee; of book, "Ereignisse und Erlebtes" (Events and Experiences), by the late Albert Norden, member, SED Central Committee Politburo; published by Dietz Verlag, East Berlin, 1981]

[Text] This is a recently published book offering deep insight into the life and work of one of the party's dedicated fighters against imperialism and war and for communism and peace. Albert Norden, a master of polished speech, has produced a remarkable synthesis between party history and autobiography in this book. As the preface points out, he wanted to "describe from a personal vantage point salient points in the life of our party, sections from the history of our workers movement" (p 5).

Using great restraint with respect to what is said about his own person, he stands here, as throughout all his dedicated life, amongst the innumerable outstanding fighters for the progress of humanity. At each sector of the struggle to which the party assigned him--and there were many--, he sought to meet expectations fully. Anyone who picks up this book is touched by the conformity between his acts, typical of a communist, and any given social requirements.

The selection of topics points to the chief concern of the author as an impassioned fighter for peace, for further successes in our socialist present and in our communist future: to convey knowledge about historical connections and to unmask aggressive intrigues of imperialism by concrete examples during this era of mankind's transition from capitalism to communism, to make peace more secure in the world and to serve social progress.

The appeal by the 17-year old young communist, "Help Soviet Russia!" was, within the historic framework of the comprehensive solidarity movement, "Hands Off Soviet Russia!" as introduced by the KPD in May 1920 a decisive upheav in Albert Norden's political and agitprop activity. He recognized the unity between domestic and foreign policy action by the revolutionary forces as a crucial prerequisite for successes in the peace struggle. Personal experiences in the country in which the future had by then become history strengthened his resolve, as that of all participants in the workers delegations to the Soviet Union in the late 1920's, to deepen the friendship and class solidarity between German and Soviet working people.



Using all opportunities available to a party journalist, Albert Norden, on party orders, disclosed the unscrupulous means and methods international capital employed--directly or under cunning camouflage, overtly or covertly--against growing Soviet power. In connection with the trials against the forger of documents Orlov and the clerical forgers, he succeeded in bringing to light, mainly, the backers and principals behind this large-scale counterrevolutionary conspiracy. "To recall these events today is and remains pertinent because imperialism has not stopped since--and is not going to stop as long as it exists--to keep using, time and time again, the weapon of forgery as found in its arsenal of anti-Soviet activities" (p 132).

Thorough and constantly newly revised knowledge about connections and backgrounds of historic events and a sound scientific approach enabled Albert Norden to carry on his revelations about the dangerous intrigues of the most aggressive imperialist circles to our days. Among other things, he disclosed the shameful role played by the bourgeois newspapers in the FRG, revealing on whose orders they were instigating the Cold War in the 1950's. He demonstrates that justice in the bourgeois class society always means executing the will of the exploiters and that most of the Nazis who in 1945 sought the protection of the imperialist occupation powers not only remained unscathed there but regained many important levers of power. Albert Norden was the one to provide revelations about one of the most evil fascist war criminals among the generals, von Manstein, who under Hitler--highly decorated--had a career in lightning speed to become general field marshal; about the political chief of the notorious "Nachtigall" [Nightingale] Battalion and, later, minister under Adenauer; about war criminal Oberlaender, convicted in the GDR for life in a penitentiary; about the no less notorious commentator of the Nuernberg anti-Jewish legislation and, later, Adenauer's intimate friend Globke; and about others. "Such facts at once reveal to a terrifying extent what dangers emanate from those imperialist forces that are running amok against detente, instigating international tension and would like to return to the times of the Cold War" (p 237).

As a boy between 10 and 14 years of age he lived through World War I, then, as an adolescent, through the Kapp Putsch, the armed uprising of the workers class in the Ruhr area, and the Ruhr occupation. He also witnessed how monopoly capital and the big land owners, through the inflation, placed most of the burdens of the war onto the people's masses. These experiences, combined with a more and more profound penetration of the nature of the scientific world-outlook of the workers class, Marxism-Leninism, became the foundation for Albert Norden's impassioned dedication to the struggle for international peace and the war against the profiteers. Indefatigably, he unmasks the militaristic and revanchist affiliations, especially of Reichswehr, its secret funding by big capitalists and land owners, and discloses secret rearmament preparations.

As a member of the third German workers' delegation to the Soviet Union, Albert Norden, on 10 November 1927, attended the First World Congress of the Friends of the Soviet Union in Moscow, held under the slogan, "War Must Be Prevented!" Since 1917, and especially after 1933, the German imperialist policy of aggression had been directed mainly against the Soviet Union and its peace policy. Albert Norden reports in this book on how the comrades during fascist times, on party orders, fought against fascism and war from abroad. He provides vivid facts and insights. Because he also was involved in the preparation of, and took part in, the anti-fascist workers congress of Europe in Paris from 4 to 6 June 1933, after which he became the chief editor of the paper WELTFRONT GEGEN IMPERIALISTISCHEN KRIEG UND FASCHISMUS.

Reading this, one senses Albert Norden's inner excitement with which he--since 1958 a member of the World Peace Council--on 28 May 1974, at the same spot where once the Antifascist Workers Congress of Europe had convened, could say: "More than 40 years ago, I stood in this hall at the first European conference organized after Hitler assumed power. Here, in 1933, the world movement against war and fascism was founded, led by the unforgettable Henri Barbusse, whose paper it was my honor to edit. We were strong then and numerous then, but not strong and numerous enough to prevent Hitler's war. Our continent had fallen under the axe of fascism. In Berlin, from where I come, 40 years ago World War I was planned and unleashed and 35 years ago, World War II. Today, Berlin is the capital of the first German peace state, my socialist fatherland, the GDR" (pp 162-163).

As all other publications by him, this work also makes clear that Albert Norden stands in the front rank with all those who place their whole person and talent at the service of the workers class for liberating the peoples from exploitation and war. He devotes a special section of this book to the mass media as the party's ideological weapon and affirms "that a journalist by no means is but a chronicler of events but also takes part in the shaping of history. This he does by either making his pen serviceable to the oppressors of humanity or by devoting his gift to the service of national liberation" (p 211).

In reporting on the conference of the executive committee of the International Organization of Journalists (IOJ) in Budapest in 1948, he gives examples of both alternatives: The chairman of the U.S. Journalists Association asked--in vain, to be sure--that the point on "struggle against the war mongering press" should be dropped. In turn, NEUES DEUTSCHLAND reported "an appeal by Berlin journalists who want to serve peace and nothing but peace" left a deep impression (p 217). This is Albert Norden's resume in this book: "In disclosing the danger emanating from the enemies of detente in NATO and the FRG's missile politicians in the past and present, we have been and are fulfilling an important mission of the German peace state" (p 237). To that, he has himself made a considerable contribution. In his "Ideas on the 19th Party Congress," Albert Norden emphatically states: "Socialism needs no war. On the contrary. Our policy is to do everything to safeguard peace. We want the young generations of our continent to get to the year 2000 without war. We want to banish war from the life of humanity altogether. Our optimism comes from that peace and socialism exist in unity, in that the socialist community of states provides ever more certain guarantees for a future in peace" (p 257).

The whole book attests to a full life of struggle for socialism and peace. It explains how a person of different social background makes a complete identification with the positions and ideals of the workers class. There were workers' families in Eiberfeld in which Albert Norden soon was more at home than in his own family (ibid. p 21). He started his political activity together with other young communists, studied at the Jena party school and continued it through the everyday struggle as an editor. Especially important for the young communist were the years 1925 to 1928 in Hamburg, the city of Ernst Thaelmann. The articles and speeches and the personal example of Ernst Thaelmann became a "genuine school for life" to the young party editor (p 55).

Albert Norden mentions many outstanding class fighters by name under whose direction he worked, with whom he struggled in concert and is linked in close friendship. Many of these comrades later became victims of fascist murder and terror. But the class justice of the Weimar state which, as he documents, never took its eyes off the "dangerous" communists, also helped strengthen the young class fighters in their selfless dedication. They proved themselves especially when Albert Norden, by now an experienced party worker, was with RUHR-ECHO and, until 1933, with ROTE FÄHNE.

Under the rule of capital, the communists lead lives full of deprivation and are directly confronted with an unscrupulous class enemy, knowing that it may cost them their lives. Albert Norden's book implies what it means to change one's residence in rapid succession, assume new tasks, enter illegality and work under assumed names. Then, many complicated and dangerous situations had to be endured--e.g. a cover name forgotten--which they might later laugh about, when they had passed, and which today may be recalled with some satisfaction (cf. pp 182-183). But that also requires, above and beyond a goodly portion of energy, courage and optimism, mainly a knowledge, based on Marxism-Leninism, of the inevitability of social development and the irrefutable conviction that the workers class holds the future. Such a position alone makes possible the dedication of one's whole person to uniform working class action, in a united front for all people advocating peace and progress.

Wholly in this sense he also was active in exile: in Copenhagen and Paris, in a French internment camp and in the United States. Also after German fascism was crushed, the emigrants had to endure tough struggles and had to prove themselves time and time again until they could return home in 1946, with the help from the Soviet Union, and, like Albert Norden, gain permanent distinctions as coshapers of the new society.

In lieu of a postscript, the book contains a letter, written by Comrade Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council, to Albert Norden on 22 April 1981, after the 10th SED Congress had ended. He expresses his thanks to the longtime member of the GDR party and state leadership, the outstanding communist whose life and work--through more than 6 decades in active party work--are closely linked with the great historic transformations of our time. "You are part of the generation that paved the way for our socialist cause in the struggle against imperialism, militarism and fascism. Imperishable are your distinctions as one of the leading coshapers of socialism on German soil, as an impassioned fighter for peace" (pp 263-264).

These are the words by which Albert Norden prefaces his book: "Once the communists are asked by the peoples, and by history, where they were in those heavy hours, they may reply: We stood yesterday and always for the rights of the working people. That is why we are the victors of today and tomorrow" (p 6). And he has every good reason to conclude by saying: "To be permitted a shaping hand in the new Germany, in victory, after all the pain and suffering, all the defeats and struggles--nothing more beautiful cou'd fate bestow upon us" (p 261).

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## GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

### SUMMARIES OF OTHER MAJOR 'EINHEIT' ARTICLES

East Berlin EINHEIT in German Vol 37 No 4, Apr 82 (signed to press 15 Mar 82)  
'Resumes' addendum

#### In the Struggle for Democratization of International Economic Relations

[Summary of 'The Young National States in the World Arena' feature article by Prof Dr Manfred Engert, economist, director, Institute for Economics of the Socialist World System, Academy of Social Sciences, SED Central Committee; pp 353-359]

[Text] What is the nature of the liberated states' action program for creating a new international economic order? What explains the urgent need to bring that program to realization? What positions are taken on that by the socialist states on the one side and the imperialist states, primarily the United States, on the other? The counter-concept by the Reagan administration and its activities make clear: The conditions of the struggle for the democratization of international economic relations are becoming tougher. The socialist states in the struggle carry on as firm allies of the developing countries.

#### Neocolonial Practices of International Monopolies

[Summary of 'The Young National States in the World Arena' feature article by Dr Klaus Kannapin, department head, GDR Institute for International Politics and Economics (IPW); pp 360-366]

[Text] How do multinational corporations seek to regain lost positions and even up new terrain for the exploitation and despoliation of the developing countries--relying on their still strong potentials and by means of entering the industrialization process of those countries, especially through the transfer of technologies? A successful struggle by the liberated states for economic independence comes combined with the struggle to enforce effectively a state and democratic control over the international monopolies.



## Efficiency Gain Through High-Level Products

[Summary of article by Dr Herbert Kroker, economist, general director, Herbert Warnke VEB Forming Equipment Combine, Erfurt; pp 381-385]

[Text] An internationally recognized technical level for favorably priced products is the most important basis for a high economy and increasing export rates. How can the capacity of the work collective--especially in R&D--be developed and directed through purposeful management activity for that principle to be realized in the Herbert Warnke Forming Equipment Combine? What is the role played in this by clear long-range planning, by focusing on customer-oriented technological solutions and by strengthening and making better use of the potential of material and moral incentives for high performance in R&D?

Herbert Warnke VEB Forming Equipment Combine, Erfurt

--20,000 working people work in 15 enterprises and one research center. Among the enterprises are 11 machine construction enterprises, three enterprises for forming equipment and machine tool construction and one enterprise for electronic switchboard construction.

--75 types, 180 models in 1,000 alternatives of presses, cutters, baling and synthetic processing machines and extensive mechanization and automation devices determine the production profile.

--Specific machines, finishing complexes, automated production lines and technological problem solutions are used in the following main output areas:

- Motor vehicle, tractor and farm machinery production;
- railroad car construction;
- electrical engineering and electronics;
- construction of accessories;
- standard parts industry; and
- consumer goods industry.

--More than 5,000 products are exported annually to 50 countries

## Fewer Hands Are Producing More

[Summary of article by Dr Dieter Weger, economist, department chief, SED Frankfurt/Oder Bezirk Management; pp 386-391]

[Text] "Fewer Hands Are Producing More," this initiative from the Schwedt Peat Chemical Combine, has gained increasing ground in our country for the last 4 years. From the experiences in Frankfurt/Oder Bezirk conclusions are drawn on how and for which purpose that initiative is to be further extended. Mainly it is shown how this process should be placed under political management so that the working people get actively involved in making all the labor more rational through all phases of the reproduction process.

## Increase and Protect the People's Property—Everyone's Responsibility

[Summary of article by Dr Otfried Arnold, staff employee, SED Central Committee; pp 392-398]

[Text] We own a great wealth of embodied values in our public property. To utilize, use, augment and protect it ever better is a precept of socialist conduct and action. What does that mean concretely under the prevailing conditions? What higher measure of personal responsibility results from the quantitative and qualitative growth of socialist property? What implications does that have for the ideological work that will enable everyone to exercise consciously his proprietary function?

## Charles Darwin's Trailblazing Work

[Summary of article by Prof Dr Rolf Loether; study group head, Central Institute for Philosophy, GDR Academy of Sciences; pp 406-412]

[Text] Darwin's establishing the evolutionary theory in biology was a turning point in the history of science and a challenge to idealism and metaphysics. The classic authors of Marxism-Leninism saw in it one of the natural science prerequisites for the scientific world-outlook of the workers class. Today Darwinism belongs among the crucial theoretical and methodological prerequisites for the tempestuous development of the biological sciences. Yet the political-ideological and the philosophical debate about thinking in terms of natural science development goes on.

1885

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NEGLECT OF RETIRED OLD PEOPLE REPORTED

Munich BAYERNKURIER in German Vol 33 No 17, 24 Apr 82 p 6

[Life in the GDR] feature article by Martina Stein: "About the Misery of Old People--Only Young People Count in the SED State")

[1982] Another day in the GDR. Another day when children, young people and workers are receiving encouragement and support of all kinds from the state, since they are still needed. Another day however which leaves old people, who no longer contribute to productivity, helpless to their fate. So foreign TV crew is permitted to record in their poor housing their still poorer lifestyle, unless special efforts are made to present a shining example of one or more retired members of the intelligentsia, whose incomes amount to 3-5 times the regular pensions of other GDR retirees.

Says one old woman in the center of a central German big city: "We old people are like trash that is either swept up in the streets or left to lie at the edge of the road." Suspiciously she adds: "Are you from the West?" "Yes; I'd like to find out about the life of old people in the GDR." She looked at me searchingly and said hesitantly: "Go ahead and ring the bell at such and such an address. If you will give the people a few West marks so they can buy coffee at the Intershop, they will talk. We pensioners just can't afford 7.50 marks for one quarter of a pound of the cheapest grade."

Overcrowded Nursing Homes

The owner of a house took me to see a 72-year old former accountant of a state-owned enterprise. Her net income: 550 marks. "Since the last pension increase I get 300 marks," she said, "which is not enough to live on. I still work, while I am able to do so. With all that, I am supporting a sister and a friend whose pensions are much smaller than mine. Twenty years ago an old lady was assigned to live in my apartment. At age 82 she came down with abdominal cancer. No hospital would take her in. They said she was a case for a nursing home, and the nursing homes are overcrowded. Since she had paid me rent all those years, it would be my duty to care for her. Her rent for the furnished room, including laundry and heat, was 20 marks per month. Her pension was 130 marks. The apartment is small; two rooms and a kitchen. She always shared my meals. I could not very well let her watch me eating or drinking coffee. It was difficult to nurse her. All that laundry. I

don't have a washing machine; had to boil everything in small pots on the coal stove, get up at 4 am and never got to bed before 11 pm. Laundries accept only regular dirty linen."

Two houses further down, Fraeulein N. sublets a small room in the attic. One of her legs had been amputated years ago. She learned to walk with crutches, until her arms got too weak for it. Now she mostly lies in her bed or sits in a chair near the narrow window for a few hours when her landlady finds the time to dress her and carry her to the chair. She applied for admission to a nursing home 5 years ago. The landlady is 73 years old and suffers from arthritis. Her husband died one year ago. "It really is too much for me," she said, "but the authorities can't see it. We old people just aren't worth anything. It is useless to expect any help from them. You might as well complain to rocks or talk to the wind."

In a side street there lives a 79-year old blind man who lived with his only relative, a widowed sister, who died in her sleep one day. Since then he has been depending on help from his neighbor, a 74-year old woman. His pension too is less than 300 marks. Said his neighbor: "We have tried to find a place for him in a home. Their vacancies are booked up for years to come. The old people don't die fast enough. And the authorities have deaf ears. They tell me that it should make no difference whether I cook, wash and clean for two people or three. If you ever help someone out of compassion, the authorities make you continue indefinitely."

Four houses down the road a 77-year old woman with a broken leg lies in bed. The hospital would not admit her. At her age, broken bones are considered nursing home cases, and the nursing homes are overcrowded. Her son had to quit his job and find part-time work to take care of his mother. Since then money has been short. She owns an old house with three rental apartments. One renter pays 15 marks per month, the two others 25. In addition, she has a 200 mark pension. She wanted to donate her house to the city, which refused the gift. Otherwise it would have to pay for needed repairs.

In the first house of the next block lives 97-year old Frau M., who some weeks ago broke her right hip. An ambulance was called and drove her to the Poliklinik where X-rays were taken. Her 75-year old daughter who accompanied her was told that her mother could not be admitted to the hospital since at her age the fracture would never heal anyway. She was advised to quit working so as to take care of her mother. The nursing homes, they said, were overcrowded. "They said the same thing 10 years ago," said her daughter, "when mother had broken her arm. It grew together by itself." The total of their pensions amounts to 500 marks. "When I insisted on a new X-ray 8 weeks later, they said: 'What for? What's the use at her age?' They were the same doctors who are once again leaving her to her fate."

The misery of the very old people had been described to me by an aunt; but I had discounted this in view of our West German press and TV reports about life in the GDR. But their reports were one-sided. Their authors had either passed on only outside appearances, as approved by GDR authorities, without commentary, or perhaps they had only gone by outside appearances.



## REALISTIC POLITICAL THINKING AFTER MARTIAL LAW DISCUSSED

## Look at Polish Psyche

Warsaw POLITYKA in Polish No 4, 13 Mar 82 pp 1, 8

[Article by Piotr Moszynski]

[Text] Probably the most frequently repeated question in today's typical political discussions is: "When will martial law (stan wojenny) end, and what will follow?" Sometimes this question is asked with hope, at other times with apprehension, but it is asked universally.

It must also be said at once that this question is most often put to the representatives of the authorities by the man on the street. The representatives, for their part, would much rather hear the answer from the questioners themselves.

The key issue, after all, for determining "what will follow" is not at all the makeup of the trade unions, despite the commonly held opinion. Nor is it the texts of the laws ushering in the economic reform. It is not whether the hardliners or the moderates will gain control. Nor is it anything else of that sort. The key issue really is whether the introduction of martial law will constitute a sufficiently strong shock to set in motion the mechanism of realistic political thinking. And that on a grade scale--it would have to involve at least the most important opinionmaking milieux, and thus, the working class in heavy industry, the most influential farmers and rural activists, the intelligentsia (especially scholars, creators of culture and journalists), as well as the youth. In other words, it is a question of the chance for a change occurring in the basic political canon of a part of society with respect to the authorities--namely, the canon of opposition--without perceiving that both elements go into making up the same whole. Certain chances for this exist, and they emanate from the fact that at least some of the representatives of the aforementioned milieux must notice that attempts at correcting the socioeconomic system operating in our country by bringing the authorities to their knees are usually unsuccessful. That is, strictly speaking, they create a situation that threatens to eliminate from the political game any possible representatives of society who are independent of the organs of the authorities.

Without a doubt, that was not the intention, but that is exactly what happened. That surprise, that contact with the rules of real politics, may become the source of seeking directions of activity in which the means selected may lead more certainly to the desired goal.

One of the fundamental problems consists of the fact that there is active among us, with an almost equal force, a disgust and contempt for our own miserable condition (for which we blame the authorities exclusively) and a quiet, comfortable state in which we do not have to think of the future at all because no one will see it (in this regard, the activity of the former leadership teams really caused tremendous harm which tended to nitpick and interfere in the smallest details of social life and frighten people away from "getting involved" in politics). Current social attitudes are an indirect result not only of the defects in human nature, but also of the conviction enduring for several decades that party leadership and the state decide about everything, that the causative force of state policy is in every matter placed beyond the citizen's reach, and that the only kind of political activity for which he qualifies is telling wry jokes at private gatherings, as well as contemplating revenge as soon as possible. And that is, more or less, how things look right now. So much so that there are also groups considering the possibility of undertaking terrorist acts.

This typical syndrome of perpetual, silent rebellion has usually been referred to in our country as the romantic attitude. Usually contrasted to it is the positivist attitude and the advice to work within the system (praca organizma). Among the various myths circulating among us, this one belongs to those marked by especially scandalous oversimplification. For what results from it is a contrast between the noble, independent, impotently threatening and the obedient, disciplined and worked to death. By the next consecutive oversimplification we have the clear choice: we can be either free (romantic) or slaves (positivists). In the social consciousness, the possibility of expressing rebellion begins to symbolize freedom as a concept and work and discipline to symbolize slavery.

Since 13 December, what we have been hearing on the radio and television, from the platforms of the Sejm, the government and the party is, in my view, an attempt to discredit the ever-so-reasonable romantic myth and to mobilize us to common, calm and profitable work for the good of the country. But if the positivist attitude is to be an alternative to the romantic myth, it cannot be launched in a form equally oversimplified.

Moreover, it is not a question, after all, of work alone. In positivist traditions, one can find not only the cult of work, but also the cult of good, self-governing organization, and above all the cult of learning, science and strict reasoning on the basis of empirical facts. Meanwhile, among the native positivists of the martial law period, one can also find those who at one and the same time are calling for work on the basics and for the elimination of the influence of the academic community. That is obviously neither positivism nor Marxism. It is, in plain words, a joke.

My attitude toward academic employees (pracownicy) is far from idolatrous. I realize perfectly that many of them have reached a high level, but many

others could try harder to be less mediocre. At the same time, I cannot put out of my head the fundamentally important truth that unless we make proper use of our scientific potential, we will never be a country that can be called a modern developed country of central Europe. Never! I think that for the strategy of our future development, the solution of this problem is most important. And we must think along these lines right now, even though the current moment imposes on us many other topics, each of which is urgent in its own way.

The most important task in thinking about the strategy of development and of the future of Poland is to rid ourselves of the habit of indulging in so-called common sense as well as activity marked by chaos and inconsistency, most often resulting from the very lack of knowledge about the kind of strategy that ought to be chosen in given conditions. Sometimes there even comes into play a lack of sufficient knowledge about what strategy itself is. However, we can no longer afford common sense and intuition. Because it has knowledge about how to build such a strategy, the academic community, above all, can help to reduce the costs emanating from the lack of a unified strategy.

I know that at present the atmosphere is not politically favorable for stressing the role of academics. But for that very reason I am going to stress it even more. Not merely out of spite, but very simply, where the atmosphere is not right one has to yell twice as loud about a given subject to prevent its being passed over.

Scientific advisers have not had a good press for the past several years. First an attempt was made to ascribe to them an important share of the blame of the follies perpetrated by the Giersek team and recently, for the political errors of some of the Solidarity activists. If one were to examine the particular cases of advice, one after another, then certainly one would be able to uncover both unfair and not especially competent advisers, as well as politically irresponsible ones. I daresay, however, that is not where the real problem resides.

To be humorously brief, the leadership teams had trouble, as it were, finding the right audiovisual methods for contacts with the scientists. They did not know how to ask them questions or how to listen to their answers. For the authorities' part, the function of advisers, after all, reduced itself to a decorative one--they were asked about questions which the advisers did not need to examine at all, and when they had the floor, their point of view was disregarded courteously but firmly. It was not always like that, but certainly it was like that too often. In turn, for Solidarity's part, too often the sober voices of some advisers were disregarded and exposure was given only to those opinions that coincided with the operating policy established by the leaders and corresponded with the aforementioned canon of opposition.

If asked to point out practical problems that confirm my thesis about the decorative function of science in our socioeconomic system, I would point out one very obvious example: the functioning of propaganda. If we assume that

its basic goal is the formation and consolidation on a mass scale of positive attitudes toward the system, the authorities, the state and the party, as well as toward honest work, the facts indicate that propaganda in our country is unusually ineffectual. But psychologists and sociologists are not consulted concerning the kind of propaganda activity that might prove effective under given conditions. On the other hand, they are expected to report on the effects of propaganda formulated without consultation with them, after which data from their reports are gladly buried since they are so discouraging. All this goes on in a situation where getting advice about the methods of effective propaganda would not be hard for anybody, since pertinent data can be found in basic textbooks of social psychology, generally available in university libraries. Meanwhile, however, common sense principles are applied. For example, the principle that if you repeat several times every day that a certain proposition or way of acting is correct, in time all the listeners will begin to think and act in exactly that way. If, some time ago, the experts had been asked about whether the propaganda methods used promised to be highly effective, and what other methods might be used, then maybe today we would not be wondering why the work of our means of mass communication is popularly referred to as antipropaganda. What I am driving at is that if someone engages the services of a scientific adviser, he must know exactly why he is doing it, the sort of problems he can resolve and the sort that interest the one doing the engaging. If the expert is to serve a merely decorative function, or if he is to be an alibi for "common sense" decisions made without his participation anyway, then obviously there can be no question either of cooperation or of a responsible working out of a problem solving strategy.

Gradually becoming accustomed to thinking in terms of "cause-effect," "hypothesis-verification," "effective methods of goal attainment"--dominant terms in the scientific way of considering the world may be the soundest training in the realistic political thinking we talked about at the outset. Thinking that ignores arguments that are not germane to the effective solution of a problem. Thinking that is not disrupted by exterior considerations, nor disturbed by the flux of emotions, but interrupted only by the attainment of the goal. This would really be mental work within the system (praca organiczna). This term is not too popular in our country and I think it is associated with sadness, boredom and gloom, as well as a lack of imagination. However, I see no possibility for our enduring if we do not start thinking along these or similar lines.

I am completely serious and literal in writing about the impossibility of our enduring if we continue to view our country in purely emotional and negative terms. The impossibility of enduring means annihilation. I understand perfectly the present situation in which a part of society, its views governed by bitterness, by a sense of having been wronged and by a lack of perspective might prefer self-annihilation to what it considers a humiliating cooperation with the state. Such a development would not be surprising or incomprehensible. It would seem, in one sense, the natural course of events, the most probable, the most normal (one would like to say) clearing up of the circumstances that we created. However, despite our fascination with the naturalness of the course of events, we must surely do everything we can to disrupt its flow.



The "positivistic" alternative to the "romantic" act of purification would consist of committing ourselves to existing structures in order to make impossible their sliding from jointly established operating strategy, whose goal is to improve the socio-politico-economic system operating up to the present. I am not writing, as has usually been the case, that it is a question of further improvement, but simply about ordinary improvement in what has been defective, off the mark and stupidly thought out until now. If you look carefully, you will see that concrete possibilities exist.

At this point, it may be meaningless to state the issue this way. That is possible. Convincing someone that he ought to change his way of thinking because that will make things better does not change much. The situation and conditions must change. However, as evidence for the desirability, or even the necessity of our emerging from the martial law period as positivists, I offer five quotations from two eminent scholars who cannot be suspect of conjuncturalism or situation writing regarding martial law, if only because they wrote these things some years ago. It is immediately evident that when faced with questions of a fundamental nature, we are hard pressed to find some brand new, heretofore unknown answers, for then there come into play statements of a universal character and historical experiences. Our dilemmas have already appeared historically so many times that the pursuit of a brand new prescription is rather ludicrous. Therefore, let us listen.

"While there is no research data on the subject, I have certain bases for my belief that the term democracy is not associated by Poles with discipline, law and order and submission to the leadership chosen by everybody, completely unlike its association in Anglo Saxon countries. Poles associate the term with the freedom to resolve all personal and public matters on an individual basis. If we understand by democracy the establishment of equal opportunity for every citizen, the mobilization and good use of all the resources, talents and energy of the nation and the possibility for everyone to participate creatively in the solution of social problems, then, obviously, democratization will be a powerful element in speeding up development (...) The divergence between a strong government and democratization exists, at that point, only so long as our ideas about one and the other are false: when we equate a strong government with despotism, and democracy with anarchy." (Prof Jan Szczepanski, June 1971)

"The Poles of the 18th century almost heedlessly trusted Providence, doing everything to bring their state to ruin, and (...) after the partitions of Poland, Europe rather breathed a sigh of relief brought on by the fact that the troublesome Polish state found itself within the boundaries of its better-organized and modernized neighbors." (Prof J. Szczepanski, concerning M. P. Serejski's book "Europa a rozbiory Polski" ["Europe and Polish Partitions"], June 1970)

"I think that the common source of all the political errors of the period of the cult of the individual can be found in the lack of understanding that objective knowledge about the processes occurring in the social classes and changes in their structure, tendencies and aspirations is essential for the exercise of political authority, in the feeling that we are know-it-alls

and that we have a prescription for everything. Hence the foundations of the passage from governing with the nation to governing over the nation to governing against the nation." (Prof J. Szczepanski, "Proba diagnozy" ["An Attempt at a Diagnosis"], 1957)

"Perhaps if we analyzed the factors for quick economic growth we observe in the activity of such a country as Japan, we would conclude that our old positivists came closest to finding analogous methods. For organization also requires a high-quality citizen, a high level of education, real education, and not merely a diploma." (Prof J. Szczepanski, June 1971)

"All his life a man learns the art of resignation. Rarely, however, despite the long learning period, is the resignation total. The usual disparity between 'I want' and 'I can' leaves a residue of rebellion, a feeling of having been wronged and dissatisfaction with oneself and one's surroundings. Sadness is the humor of resignation. Cheerful resignation is rare and demands great wisdom of life.

"To be able to bear wrongs cheerfully, one must learn to look upon oneself and one's surroundings realistically. From youth onwards, one must learn to lose with grace ('to be a good loser', as the English say)." (Prof Antoni Kepinski, "Psychopatologia nerwica" ["The Psychopathology of Neuroses"], PZWL State Medical Publishing House, 1973)

For us, history has turned out so that regardless of whether we are part of the authorities or part of the others, we are condemned under the current conditions to a succession of defeats and a stubborn, dogged picking ourselves up from them. The realistic look at ourselves and our surroundings mentioned by Prof Kepinski is therefore something that can be useful indeed.

#### 'ZYCIE GOSPODARCZE' Editor's Commentary

Warsaw ZYCIE GOSPODARCZE in Polish No 10, 28 Mar 82 p 12

[Article by Janusz Ostaszewski, deputy editor-in-chief of ZYCIE GOSPODARCZE]

[Text] "The key issue, after all, for determining 'what will follow' (when martial law ends--editor's note) is not at all the makeup of the trade unions, despite the commonly held opinion. Nor is it the texts of the laws ushering in the economic reform. It is not whether the hardliners or the moderates will gain control. Nor is it anything else of that sort. The key issue really is whether the introduction of martial law will constitute a sufficiently strong shock to set in motion the mechanism of realistic political thinking."

This is the thought formulated at the outset of the previous article by Piotr Moszynski. Basing his reasoning on this line of thinking, he concludes that "we are condemned under the current conditions to a succession of defeats and a stubborn, dogged picking ourselves up from them...the realistic look at ourselves and our surroundings...is therefore something that can be useful indeed." He arrives at this conclusion by taking issue

with the myth of oversimplified positivism, having earlier discarded the myth of romanticism, and seeking a prescription for a realism in the scholarly analysis of reality. In realism, one must exercise, train, get used to thinking "in terms of cause-effect, hypothesis-verification, goal-effective methods of attainment--dominant terms in the scientific way of considering the world."

While I share the viewpoints of the author on many points, I have a reservation. Did he not commit a gross error in tossing aside or, at the very least, making light of the importance of the texts of the new resolutions, the new law as methods of attaining the goal: realism in political thinking? For I am of the opinion that neither the strongest shock nor the best conducted training will lead to the results he wants, if one minimizes the sense and significance, on the one hand, of the rules limiting the necessity for shock treatment and, on the other hand, ignores the possibilities for getting the body into the condition necessary for shock treatment. Similarly, the training to look realistically at our most important affairs must be the product of lasting principles that define its content.

It is not hard to find examples and evidence that neither jumps nor shocks have inclined trainers and trainees alike to a sense of realism until now. Even when they initiated reasonable processes, because of the laxity of the rules, they usually threw the rules out in favor of "it seems to me" or even worse "I know better." The rules were dispensed with especially readily when a jump was required. The rosy future beckoned and it was exactly the rules that cramped the straining muscles of the cities--as it normally happens--which inclined the cities to take advantage of the rules.

If the latest series of shocks we have lived through is really to be a stimulus, and afterwards is to create conditions favorable to the vegetation of the delicate plant called realistic thinking, it will be useful to us to the degree that it helps bring about such rules, such a written law as we have previously in the new texts of the resolution which will see everyone equal in obligations as well as in privileges. Fortunately, that is what is now happening. Flouting principles as if they were fruits, bending them down for momentary gain, the irrational faith that one can say A and then hiss B never brought anything good, because it cannot. Every sort of training, especially one in realistic political thinking, must begin with rules, and not with tossing them out or even minimizing them, for they are, after all, a decisive influence in the entire civilized world for choosing the right goals and the means of attaining them. In time the rules get old, it is true, but for once let us let the rules get old with us and let their becoming outdated be made evident by succeeding rules, bred with respect for the rules. Otherwise we are not going to have a very good republic.

As one takes a nerve, things are being overturned, and one stands up with difficulty when he must feel his way along a dark and unfamiliar road. It is not enough for him to experience shock and to become a realist in order to be able to stop feeling his way along. If the road is uneven and dark besides, the realist will lose his balance just like any other, without a lantern and a cane for support, and finally, without change in the quality

of the road. In my opinion, what constitutes the cane, the lantern and becoming aware of the necessity of repairing the road, and even changing its direction, are those resolutions, union organizations and other new rules and principles of social existence and coexistence. Not moonstruck or built on false premises, but realistic, thoroughly discussed, approved and abided by. The same principles of acting for all. Without special license to enter against traffic, to weave or to park across the road.

I have in mind law that teaches realism--the same law for those teaching and those being taught, equally demanding of and just for all. A law that will see to it that the authorities will not be brought to their knees, for the law will guarantee them coparticipation and will impose the duty of supervising the actions of the authorities. The law, according to which no one will be deprived of his dignity and the possibility of saying that perhaps it is not yet time to take a leap. The law that guarantees governing with the people, not beyond them and, finally, not against them, as P. Moszynski wrote, quoting Prof J. Szczepanski. Finally, the law that will constitute the textbook of realism and a whip held over those for whom the Republic is manifested as the warp of a garment from which one may tear as much as he desires or is able, if he can reach the fabric. Law and only law can be the basis for unlearning stealing cement for the construction of a school and ignoring the Constitution in programing the nation's future. Wise, respected, protected and executed law.

Realism in political thought, and training in this realism thus require rules, principles, phases for the improvement of its form, i.e., those texts of resolutions introducing a new law, new rules and principles of social action. And it would be good if, in all this, the hardliners had the ascendancy for a long time, those who are unyielding in perfecting and abiding by the law, and not the moderates, especially those who are moderate with themselves.

8536

CSO: 2600/493



## ZSMP MAIN BOARD VICE CHAIRMAN INTERVIEWED

Warsaw SZTANDAR MŁODY 4 in Polish 24 Mar 82 pp 1, 2

[Interview with Miroslaw Demczuk, ZSMP [Union of Socialist Polish Youth] Main Board Vice Chairman. By Napsa Rulska: "It Is Worth Knowing More"]

[Text] [Question] Until last year yet, the Scouts acted nearly exclusively in postelementary schools. You decided at the congress that this will also be your territory.

[Answer] Yes. We were obligated to do this by tradition, among other things. We have accepted general high schools as the principal sphere of activity. The Union of Socialist Youth [ZMS] had been active there at one time already, later it was the HSPS [Scout Service for Socialist Poland] which was falling apart. In sum, a gap began to form which we decided to fill. We will be able to say more about how successful we were in "entering" postelementary schools at the end of the school year. Young people are very divided and disoriented. This is a peculiar situation. Despite this, we have many sympathizers. For example, recently in the city of Lodz, in one of the secondary schools, an enterprising group of a dozen or so persons was formed which will set up the organization in their school. This is the method of "entering" postelementary schools which we had in mind.

[Question] How does ZSMP differ from its competitors? Students contend that the work of all organizations operating on school premises is basically the same. Therefore, the choice is illusory.

[Answer] The specificity of ZSMP results from the socio-political character of the organization. We are concentrating our attention on political training, on competition, development of the academic movement, on advocating the interests of youth, on self-government in schools and on socio-living matters. I feel that this is an offer for which there is a need.

[Question] Does such a conclusion result from your contacts with peers? In view of this, how does one explain the fact that many schools are, nevertheless, closed to ZSMP?

[Answer] My peers rarely do want to know more. Our knowledge on the subject of the fundamental principles of the system [political], the activity of

trade union, self-government and simply put, about the foundations of social life is lamentably small. People want to discuss these problems and to clear up doubts. History education centers for youth and clubs for political thought did not come about without a reason. Of course, this does not interest all students.

I will add that--we also have enemies who associate ZSMP with flowers, with red ties, party-oriented preparatory instruction and marches. The attitude towards ZSMP was also shaped by numerous organizations which last year were still active on school and university premises. All of this together multiplied by the apathy of the student community makes it so that we really are at the stage of gaining trust.

[Question] What is your position in the Union?

[Answer] There is much proof that we are regarded within the scope of the entire organization. Last year, the School Youth Council was called together which is a representative of community interests, a consultant and an adviser; it also formulates by itself the program of activity for students--members of ZSMP. There are nearly 600 thousand of us now; therefore, we make up one third of the Union.

[Question] I do not know of a youth organization which would not be anxious to participate in school management which would not strive for student self-government and which would not have any reservations in regard to programs of instructions...

[Answer] We will not stop at expressing dissatisfaction. Co-management?--of course. Self-government?--naturally! But not only at the stage of formulating slogans. We recently consulted material sent to us on this subject by the Ministry of Education and Upbringing. We feel that these fundamental principles of coexistence should express themselves in concrete terms, thus, we want to participate in the work of upbringing teams, of educational councils; to "expand" beyond the school; i.e., to act on the boards of ZSMP schools and in the community. We want to participate in decisions about scholarship appropriations and places in boarding schools.

We are not capable of changing programs of instructions; however, we supplement them by, for example, issuing our own publications: "Adjustments to History." In these publications, we try to clarify the somewhat-muddled, up to now, facts and to explain the reasons for consecutive "turns." Because it is difficult to carry on a discussion with a book, we are creating history education centers for youth. There are large numbers of those interested, which leads us to the conclusion that we have made a strike. The team of lecturers is so strong that, I feel, they will not allow themselves to be led astray and will answer all questions, even the most troublesome ones.

[Question] I understand that this is the initiative of the Union leadership?

[Answer] The proposal came from the School Youth Council, which as I have said, is an advisory organ of the ZSMP Main Board.

[Question] What else is the Council working on?

[Answer] We keep close school practices "in hand." We have prepared a report on the state of professional practices, which has already been submitted to the Ministry of Education and Upbringing, the Ministry of Agriculture and the Ministry of Labor, Wages and Social Matters. We have presented our reservations in regard to wages, working conditions and time as well as work clothes. We must send out ministers' orders to schools because often this is the only way they can reach them. After all, misunderstandings and conflicts result from lack of information.

[Question] You are the subdirector of "newness" in the life of the organization--social vice chairman and a student.... How do you do it?

[Answer] Indeed, there is a great deal of work. First of all, studies--this year, I am finishing the Post-High School Agricultural Program and of course, there is work in the organization.... Everyone asks how it is possible to reconcile these responsibilities. The answer is also simple--it so happens that sometimes I study and relax on the train.

[Question] Thanks to this double role--member of the Union leadership and student at the agricultural school in Klementowice, thus, quite a ways from Warsaw--you have the opportunity of confronting decisions with their usefulness for the student community and subsequently--with their implementation. A terrific vantage point for the evaluation of the relation: top--bottom...

[Answer] I am convinced about one thing--if the devised-by-the-"top"--as you say--proposals or decisions will, indeed, be necessary, they will create chances for improvement of the situation in some school circle or school board; if this will come forth from the awareness of the members of the organizations--then, they [proposals, decisions] will, simply always be well accepted by the "bottom."

[Question] Does this principle hold true in your school?

[Answer] If I say that my school, as compared to others, is unique in some way, then there will be some truth in it. My schoolmates come from a rural environment, an environment with which, to be honest, it is very difficult to work. In reality, there is no climate for discussion. The majority of them commute to school and thus they are in a hurry to get back home.... In reality, there is no climate for discussion. This is a sad truth but it is very much connected with a lack of time but also a lack of genuine interests. So, this is certainly not a typical environment.

[Question] What should the character of the organization be in a school environment?

[Answer] Without a doubt--political. However, not only political. We also want to have an influence on upbringing or rather on self-upbringing. Education, good education, recreation and being together during vacation time is primary for this goal.

[Question] Training and courses, which today do not attract the teenager have already become outlived, I suppose...

[Answer] We have departed decidedly from such a style of activity. The former distance--between the leadership and organization members--is no longer considered. Simply put, a group of people meets who have something to say to one another; who want to carry on a discussion with each other and that is all. The way in which they want to do this depends on them.

[Question] How would you evaluate the mental [psychic] form of your peers?

[Answer] We are impulsive, sometimes overly so. Too often, in the past year, many of my peers allowed themselves to be carried away by their emotions. Proof of this are the strikes in Lublin, nightly marches and even the recent events in Poznan and Gdansk. The question arises as to what causes this? In my opinion, the cause is a lack of knowledge, political ignorance and prevailing apathy in schools. The fashionableness of "the West" and the desire to experience adventure led to the formation of illegal organizations which suggested that which exists, without, at the same time, proposing something in exchange. There are a lot of people who do not really know what they want and who are not involved in anything.

[Question] And is it worth becoming involved?

[Answer] In the work of ZSM? Yes. If only because rooting for something will have to stand aside; it does not teach anything while we have the ambition to enter social life with knowledge about the rules which govern it. We also want to have an influence on the shaping of our nation and our Union. Our age does not always allow us to make decisions about very important matters but work in the organization shapes truly civic attitudes.

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CASE 2000/504



## AIMS, FUNCTIONS OF VETERANS' ASSOCIATION DESCRIBED

## Structure, Civil Defense Activity

Warsaw PRZEGLAD OBRONY CYWILNEJ in Polish No 2, Feb 82 pp 32-33

[Article by Jerzy Suwart: "Union of Former Professional Soldiers [ZBZZ]"]

[Text] I believe that problems relating to the Union of Former Professional Soldiers may be of interest to the readers of PRZEGLAD OBRONY CYWILNEJ (POC) for at least two reasons: First, there are many former professional soldiers involved in civil defense, who are vitally interested in the matters of this new social organization; second, one of the Union's aims is participation in strengthening the country's defense--which relates automatically to activity in behalf of civil defense.

## ZBZZ Aims and Tasks and its Organization

It would be well to recall that the Union of Former Professional Soldiers was organized by social initiative on 12 February 1981. During its First National Congress deliberations in Warsaw in mid-June 1981, the Union voted on the documents that are the basis of the ZBZZ's activities, such as the association's statute and program, and approved the agreement concluded on 12 June 1981 between the Union and the Ministry of National Defense. By an order of the Council of Ministers dated 1 April 1981, the ZBZZ obtained the status of an association of high serviceability.

The character and aims of the ZBZZ are expressed in its program, which states that "...we have formed the Union of Former Professional Soldiers in the deep conviction that in the ranks of a homogeneous, well-organized association of high serviceability, we will be in a position, in accordance with the injunctions of the Polish United Workers Party, to function productively in behalf of strengthening the defense capability of the Polish People's Republic and its comprehensive development". The program then speaks of the Union's two planes of activity: internal, aimed at integrating the members around the ideological assumptions of the statute, which is also a field for ideological-upbringing, patriotic-defense, cultural-educational, and social activity, revealing concern for the welfare of its members; and external, consisting of offering its knowledge and experience to various institutions of a defense nature, in bringing up youth and cooperating with the Polish People's Army and socio-defense organizations\*.

\* The Union has already entered into close cooperation with the National Defense League, as shown by the agreement signed by these organizations on 22 September 1981.

According to the statute (chapter 2) the basic aims and tasks of the ZBZZ are: disseminating information on the country's defense problems and tasks; providing, in the civilian communities, an understanding of defense matters; disseminating socialist ideals (e.g., proper attitude to professional work); participating in molding patriotic attitudes of society and internationalist ties with the Soviet Army and socialist countries; increasing soldierly comradeship in the membership community; ensuring that former professional soldiers observe principles of ethics; assuring Union members assistance in undertaking professional and social work; cooperating with the appropriate authorities in satisfying the social-welfare, health and cultural needs of the Union members; and representing them in relation to the organs of authority, administration and the Ministry of National Defense.

The Union's program-type documents show that it ensures itself the implementation of the tasks named through statutory methods of operation (and, of course, the obligations of members), the agreement with the Ministry of National Defense, and the assumption of an appropriate organizational structure.

The Union's work methods in its planned and comprehensive educational and training work with its members include the following: conducting lecture and publicity activities, membership meetings, undertaking work useful for the defense and the economy, cooperating with authorities and associations, honoring its members for active social activities (e.g., appointment to a higher military grade, award of decoration, diploma, prize, entering name on Soldiers' Honor Roll, granting vacation leave, etc.), giving concrete assistance in personal matters and obtaining employment, caring for widows and orphans of deceased Union members, creating a social-welfare fund, giving legal assistance to its members.

The following are eligible for ZBZZ membership: "generals, officers, warrant officers, and noncommissioned officers who performed professional military service in the Polish People's Army, who are of unassailable reputation, who have a positive moral-political attitude, and who desire to actively implement the aims of the union and have qualified for a military pension or annuity."

The essential guarantee of the implementation of tasks is undoubtedly the already-mentioned agreement between the Union and the Ministry of National Defense. It can be divided into two parts. The first part really contains tasks which correspond to the program and statutory tasks of the ZBZZ, but they are more detailed. For example: members are given the opportunity to participate in the training-upbringing process of the military units as "advisers and expert authorities" in preparing the histories of the individual military units, in studies and analyses pertaining to the material situation of former professional soldiers and their families, and in consolidating the authority of the Polish People's Army. In the second part of the agreement, the Ministry of National Defense has committed itself to far-reaching help to the Union. We should stress here the introduction of the principle of consulting with the Main Board of ZBZZ on draft legal regulations pertaining to matters affecting former professional soldiers, the inclusion of union representatives in the membership of the Ministry of National Defense Council for Social-Welfare Matters and the Retirement Commission of the Finance Department, and the eligibility of union members to take advantage of military clubs, culture and education and sports centers. Also, the agreement declares that attempts will be made to solve a

number of problems important to former professional soldiers, as for example: reclamation of annuities and pensions (future elimination of the so-called "old file"), granting of fare reductions on the Polish State Railways and Polish Motor Transport, organization of geriatric medical treatment, establishing a "Meritorious Soldiers' Home", ensuring holiday facilities for annuitants and pensioners, and allowing mess-hall privileges.

Finally, implementation is assisted by its organizational structure: the leading authorities (national congress, main board, main audit commission, main collegial court), and the voivodship departments and circles. In justified cases, where there is a large number of circles in a given area, voivodship departments of the union may be formed.

#### ZBZZ Activities in Behalf of Civil Defense

The ZBZZ's propaganda documents establish the bases of the Union's services in behalf of civil defense. They derive particularly from § 8 pts 1 and 2, and § 9 pt 1, par 5, of the association's statute. The conclusion may be drawn from them that the Union of Former Professional Soldiers in undertaking tasks in the realm of national defense will, as it were, automatically, also consider the problems relating to civil defense, inasmuch as Civil Defense is part of national defense. This is more concretely specified in the Union's agreement with the Ministry of National Defense, which, e.g., in point 6, says that ZBZZ members will "participate as instructors (lecturers) in defense training in civilian places of employment".

In reading the Union's basic documents, we cannot however, fail to note the absence, at least by name, of civil defense. And yet it is mentioned in the law on the universal defense obligation, as an already accurately defined part of the country's defense system and in many points of its tasks it pertains to all of society. Despite this shortcoming--let us hope it is only a formality--the ZBZZ's statute and program form a basis for developing detailed and also planned Union activity in the field of Civil Defense, for example, on the basis of the pertinent normative-legal documents of the leading party and state authorities. I believe that there is place in the activities of the Union for many initiatives in this area, for example, in imparting proper understanding of civilian defense in all communities, in participating in the preparation of Civil Defense units, training the population in general self-defense, initiating social actions in behalf of civil defense, disseminating knowledge useful in Civil Defense (including the history of Civil Defense), and continuing the work traditions of the reserve officers' clubs in behalf of civil defense.

The Union's tasks in civil defense may, for example, be ensured by the cooperation of the union elements, in accordance with the provision of § 9 pt 2 of the statute, with Civil Defense Inspectorates. And perhaps simply as a beginning, one of the ZBZZ Main Board meetings could be devoted to the Union's role in civil defense. The Union comprises people so experienced and dedicated that this is reason alone to strive for its participation in civil defense. I also believe that Union members, working in civilian circles, will, sooner or later, find themselves under the pressure of Civil Defense problems in their communities. Under these circumstances, ZBZZ social activity in behalf of Civil Defense would also be a way in which the association could meet these needs halfway.

## Political, Patriotic Activity

Warsaw ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI in Polish 21 Apr 82 p 6

[Interview with Col (retired) Aleksander Amanowicz, vice-chairman of the ZBZZ Main Board, recorded by Wladyslaw Wolynski; date and place not given]

[Text] [Question] What tasks does the Union assign itself in the field of propaganda and cultural work during this difficult, from many viewpoints, period, both for the immediate as well as the more distant future?

[Answer] The Union's tasks as defined in the ZBZZ's statute and activities program and approved by the First National Congress, remain unchanged. However, the development of the situation in the country has made it necessary to concentrate efforts on the directions that are of the greatest importance for this period. The imposition of martial law prompted our members to volunteer to take part in activities aimed at defending the socialist state and law and order. This spontaneous movement authenticated the following passage in our statute: "THE UNION OF FORMER PROFESSIONAL SOLDIERS, RECOGNIZING THE LEADING ROLE OF THE POLISH UNITED WORKERS' PARTY, ACTIVELY PARTICIPATES IN THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE COUNTRY'S POLITICAL AND SOCIAL TASKS..."

Hence the basic task in the country's present complex sociopolitical and economic situation is the implementation of the PZPR Ninth Extraordinary Congress Resolution in our Union, particularly in the area of increasing the political and ideological and moral unity in the circles comprised of former professional soldiers, developing their social activeness and initiative, their commitment and dedication in the service of the nation, in accordance with the motto accepted by our Union that "WE ARE A PART OF THE SOLDIERS' BROTHERHOOD THAT HAS LINKED ITS FATE FOREVER WITH THE FATE OF THE SOCIALIST FATHERLAND".

[Question] The implementation of these aims requires concentration of main efforts on selected courses of action. What will these be?

[Answer] Personally, I see two main courses of action: intraorganizational and the Union's influence externally. Effective action within the first course of action will make it possible to obtain visible results in the second course. Both directions encompass many diverse activities, of which I would like to attention to the most important.

We will cultivate among our members a love for the Fatherland, loyalty to the ideals of socialism, the traditions of Polish arms, especially the combat traditions of the Polish People's Army, the brotherhood-in-arms with the Soviet Army and other socialist armies, the dissemination of the Union's statutory and program goals and assumptions; we will work on consolidating and integrating, on strengthening the unity and closeness within organizational ranks and on increasing the prestige of former professional soldiers.

Past experience has already shown that our members are faithful to the moral and ethical principles that were established during their military service, and that they manifest their ideological and community-welfare stances in active work, both



in local operational groups and commissions to combat corruption, and in initiating activities of Committees of National Rebirth, meetings with youth, etc.

An important element in the activities of our Union is the inculcation into society of a respect for the uniform, the colors, and national symbols.

We will strive for this through closer contacts with the professional cadre of the Polish People's Army, military college and school students, soldiers in the regular service, members of the Reserve Officers' Clubs, plant workforces, and school and scouting youth.

We will also give more attention than heretofore to the development of cultural, educational and social activity by organizing literary and graphic arts competitions on military subjects, exhibits and meetings with authors, evenings of remembrance, special-interest circles, etc.

These forms of activity, implemented in military cultural-education centers, will fulfill a twofold function. On the one hand they will integrate the community, assemble people who have the same, relatively, interests and stimulate their activity, and on the other hand they should be an occasion for popularizing military subjects, to illustrate and enhance historical knowledge in a civilian environment, particularly among youth.

[Question] In order to execute these ambitious, diverse tasks, considerable forces and means are necessary, and the Union, I know, does not have these. How will they be implemented?

[Answer] Indeed, we have few means to implement these tasks. That is why we must use them very efficiently and reasonably in order to achieve maximum results. We are an association that numbers several tens of thousands of people, committed and dedicated to social activity. And that is our largest asset, which we can always count on. The community-welfare attitudes of activity were most apparent after martial law was imposed in the country. Although a certain portion of our members did not show great activity up to that time, during the threat to national survival it gave proof of truly patriotic attitudes.

I believe that now, too, Union members will be found everywhere where their presence and dedication to socialist renewal of sociopolitical life will be indispensable. The main courses of action have been delineated and clearly defined, and results will be apparent after a certain time. Too much of all kinds of evil has arisen in our country to allow it to be quickly removed. This is like the well-known forest-fire slogan, "THE FOREST BURNS QUICKLY, BUT GROWS SLOWLY". And so it is also in our propaganda activity. The lost or undeveloped terrain is conquered slowly and with painful difficulty.

[Question] What must be concretely done in order to implement the tasks about which we spoke?

[Answer] In order to execute these tasks, we must continue to improve the Union's organizational efficiency, its flexibility, and enhance the diversity of forms of activity, adapting them to concrete goals and local capabilities. It is essential also to work closely with the local administrative and military authorities in

organizing various undertakings to commemorate military and state holidays and historical anniversaries, as well as local ceremonies.

The Union will work with military units, schools and workplants in organizing tradition halls or National Commemoration Chambers. Insofar as possible we will supply exhibits for them and assume sponsorship over them.

To this end we will cooperate with other sociopolitical and paramilitary organizations, such as: Union of Fighters for Freedom and Democracy, National Defense League, Society for Defense Knowledge, Union of Disabled Veterans, the Polish People's Republic Aeroclub.

We will develop the skills of the Union's social aktiv in conducting a dialogue with various communities on subjects rankling society and in the area of popularizing the problems of people's defense capabilities.

Together with the military authorities and sociopolitical organizations we will organize group trips to places that commemorate important historical events, tourist-sightseeing trips, exhibits and various special-occasion performances.

The specific nature of the activities may suggest other, also appealing, and what is more important, effective forms of solving local problems. The diversity and wealth of forms, the large commitment of the Union's social aktiv, will, as a result, assist in the full implementation of the tasks facing the Union.

9295

CSO: 2600/554

## LACK OF CANDIDATES FOR HIGHER SCHOOLING CONSIDERED

Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 14 Apr 82 p 4

[Article by Andrzej Skrzypczak: "Whom To Accept for Higher Studies--Chance for Less Popular Study Directions"]

[Text] The filling of so-called place limitations on first year studies in higher technical schools has constituted a real and increasing problem. Of about 10,000 unoccupied places after enrollment in July 1981, more than 7,000 were in higher technical schools.

The phenomenon of the drop in the popularity of technical schools is not a specific problem in higher education in Poland alone. It also appears in the GDR. However, efforts have been made there to counteract those tendencies. Vocational schools with secondary-school classes at work establishments were made responsible for directing graduates to higher engineering schools. Work establishments also have to delegate talented young workers qualified for preparatory courses, for university studies. Special study groups have been initiated for women burdened with family responsibilities, with classroom hours adapted to their convenience.

I am not concerned with adopting identical solutions in Poland. However, it is time to draw conclusions and to begin to act, the more so, because the downward trend in the number of candidates is not only in technical schools. We observe a similar situation in certain mathematics-physics directions in other types of schools.

## A Long-Range Program Is Needed

As indicated in the announcements of the so-called supplemental enrollment usually conducted during September, examination commissions in universities and higher pedagogical schools have been unable for at least 3 years to fill the places available during the first deadline in such fields as mathematics, information science and physics, and for the past 2 years, in the field of chemistry. It turns out that there are too few candidates in those fields and that among those who did select them, a substantial portion cannot meet the requirements of the entrance examination. A similar situation is beginning to appear in economic fields, for which math is one of the examination subjects.

The decrease in the number of candidates for the fields named above is not just a question of filling the available places, or the number of them. Old hands who have been concerned with enrollment for many years believe that to be able to select appropriate candidates (and in effect good students and later graduates), there should be at least two candidates for each available place. Meanwhile, this index reached a high of 1.5 candidates per vacancy in technical schools last year and in physics and information science, the figure was only 1.1.

In this situation there is discussion, and rightly so, of the need to raise the teaching level of exact sciences in elementary and secondary schools and conduct (or rather, introduce) a system of practical pre-orientation. However, these should be long-term activities which would require a composite program. Such a program depends in large measure on the training of appropriate cadres. And here, the characteristic "vicious circle" almost closes because, as I indicated above, based on the opinions of the old hands, the quality of cadres also depends on the number of candidate applications.

Therefore, before a long-term program of action is started, and the terms for its realization are worked out, perhaps we had better begin with what can already be done.

#### Preparatory Study

We have talked for years about the so-called zero semester, and even zero year. Such a semester, appropriately planned, would equalize the deficiencies in candidate preparations and, in addition, has this advantage over the traditional way of qualifying candidates for studies (by entrance examination), in that it permits the evaluation of the true predispositions and talents of potential students. Thus, perhaps this form of qualifying for higher studies could be introduced into at least a few schools in study fields in short supply, on the assumption that it will have an equalizing-selective character.

The minister of science, higher schools and technology appointed at the beginning of 1981 and the group of experts which worked out the plans for a new system of daily studies admissions favor an experimental test of this form of evaluation for studies. Among the proposals in those plans for resolution in the years 1981-1983, mention is made of the development of a "concept of intramural preparatory studies," or popularly speaking--a zero semester and "its experimental initiation in two or three schools. Following an experimental test of the value of this concept it should be extended to the entire higher school system (beginning in 1983)."

#### Let Us Start This Year

On behalf of undertaking the experiment recommended by the group of experts this year, it should be said that there would finally be a realistic attempt to counteract the increasingly disturbing tendencies mentioned. Such circumstances as the decrease in recent years in the number of students caused by the smaller numbers in the 19-year-old age group also speak for the experiment's adoption. Demographic forecasts indicate that in a short time this age group will begin to increase and that it will be more difficult to "save" places in schools and a cadre for zero semester students.



And finally, the economics of education also speaks for it. Nearly 20 percent of the students in daily study classes are not able to cope with their studies. The percentage of "dropouts" in the second year is similar. These numbers are still greater for studies for those who work; nearly 40 percent of the students drop out during the first year, and almost 30 percent during the second year.

Thus, without any detailed enumeration it can be accepted that the cost of training those who break off or repeat their studies would compensate for the cost of conducting a zero semester. Moreover, the incommensurable costs, social and individual, are also important.

10433

CSO: 2600/565

## CURRENT SHORTAGE OF TEACHERS DISCUSSED

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 16 Apr 82 p 3

[Text] The shortage of teachers has become very serious. A year ago, I reported in TRYBUNA LUDU that a shortage of trained specialists will be the most dangerous obstacle in the development of the educational system during the next decade. But I did not expect that everything would start rolling so rapidly and consequences would be so acute.

A narrow group of specialists was fully aware of the situation a long time ago. I still cannot understand why, several years ago, the Ministry of Higher Schools instituted teachers' education programs at universities, but at the same time annual quotas for first-year students were gradually cut down. Already five years ago it was clear that the 1973 demographic predictions were wrong, and something should have been done to correct the problem. However, nothing was ever done.

## New Baby Booms

As recently as 1981, specialists were discussing changes in the system of teachers' training and ways to speed up the process, but during the past year government officials responsible for the school system were unable to reach any decision. Therefore we are now in a crunch. The number of elementary school teachers with merely high school education and without any teaching skills has increased from over 7,000 in 1980 to 13,000 in 1981 and approximately 24,000 in 1982. The demand for teachers is such that it will be impossible to avoid a further increase in this group of school teachers.

Why is it so? For the third consecutive year, 8-year [elementary] schools are overflowing with the baby boom. This situation will continue through 1986. During this time, it will be necessary to open up approximately 40,000 new class sections or over 20 percent more than in 1980. Some of those sections have already been opened.

Teachers' shortage has increased somewhat since September 1981 as a result of the first stage in the implementation of an agreement with the teachers' union. The weekly work load, among the highest in Europe, was lowered during the current school year from 26 to 22 hours in 8-year [elementary] schools and from 22 to 20 in general and technical high schools. Other responsibilities have also been cut down. It was necessary, then, to assign overtime to interested teachers.

## Not a Bowl of Cherries

If, during a debate on the Teacher's Charter, representatives of the Ministry of Education did not succeed in convincing members of the Sejm [Polish Parliament] that the implementation of the second stage of the agreement should be postponed until September 1983, the situation would have been even worse. During the second stage, the work load would be further reduced to 18 hours per week for all teachers in the entire school system.

But one year's delay in the implementation of the agreement is not a bowl of cherries, after all. First, the annual demand is for 13,000 new teachers. Universities and Higher Pedagogical Schools are not able to graduate that many teachers because there are only a little over 9,000 students enrolled in the last year of teachers' education programs. It is well known that some of them will not seek employment in the school system. Second, the Ministry of Education is concerned about the growing number of retiring teachers. According to Article 88 of the Teacher's Charter, in 1984 every teacher who worked 30 years in a regular school or 25 years in a special school [for handicapped children or juvenile delinquents] has the right to retire. Even if some of those people will remain in the school system due to the currently attractive salary package, still a certain group will choose retirement. There are indications that the actual number of people choosing retirement will depend on interpersonal relations existing in individual schools.

If we add losses due to natural causes, voluntary resignations because of illness or one's involvement in the turmoil following the August 1980 events, a considerable number of schools may face a critical situation. According to the Ministry of Education estimates, during the 1980s the total number of vacancies in the school system will reach 180,000.

What steps have been taken by the authorities to alleviate the problem? As a result of an agreement between the Ministry of Education and the Ministry of Higher Schools, 8 higher pedagogical schools are expected to offer three-year teachers' education programs, beginning in the academic year 1982/83. If everything goes without a hitch, 600 students will have graduated from those programs in 1985, or at the time, when the baby boom will have moved on to schools above the elementary level. At the same time, the Ministry of Higher Schools is planning two crucial decisions: to increase first-year quotas for applicants to teachers' programs as early as this year and to do away with the division into teachers' education programs and other programs at the universities. (Hopefully, the latter change will bring an end to a situation which has been approved neither by the faculty nor by the students, that is, a split between those predestined for academic careers and those selected in advance for worse jobs.) Consequently, the authorities expect that every university graduate, with some additional training, will be able to take a teaching position.

## It Is More Difficult in the Countryside

The school system administration hopes to alleviate the present difficulties somewhat when some former teachers go back to teaching. Such instances are

still relatively few, but changes on the job market have only begun. Probably by late June the new system of financially self-sufficient enterprises will bring about more radical changes.

Only time will show what advantages can be found in rehiring former teachers. One must remember that after several years of being away from any occupation, one's basic skills and knowledge are no longer up to date. Besides, such returns to the workforce will be somewhat forced. It will be necessary to retread and retain such teachers. I will return to this problem momentarily.

The remaining problems pertaining to the shortage of teachers are to be solved by overtime work.

The most difficult situation exists in the countryside, where people without teaching qualifications continue to find employment and the number of rehired teachers has been the smallest. University graduates steer away from village schools, chiefly owing to housing shortage. A shortage of apartments for teachers has become an insurmountable obstacle. Gmina managers reportedly have a minimal impact on construction projects, and housing co-operatives have not caught on with farmers.

Those interested in owning a single family home find it difficult to cope with a shortage of construction materials. Teachers cannot afford increasingly expensive building lots, and gmina managers offer no help in this respect either.

There was a time when farmers rushed to offer teachers a helping hand. After all, it was in their best interest. Times have changed. To be sure, farmers build more homes, bigger and better than ever, but they no longer want to rent rooms. And if they do, they ask for such exorbitant prices that gminas cannot afford them, and young teachers do not have the resources to pay the difference between the rental price and the housing allowance provided by the gminas. Besides, young teachers say, the Teacher's Charter guarantees them an apartment in the countryside free of charge.

#### Extension Programs

I have been recently told that some villages may become blank spaces on the school system map. Owing to the housing shortage, there would be no other way but for teachers to commute. But how many teachers would agree to such an inconvenience?

Then there are problems of continuing education and extension programs. In March, during a teachers' meeting in Pleszew in Kalisz Voivodship, the local school inspector said that 30 women teachers with only high-school diplomas, employed in nearby villages, have not been included in any continuing education program. This is no basis for sweeping generalizations, but I know of other instances which suggest that a segment of the underqualified teaching force works to improve its skills only sporadically. This, of course, has its bearing on the quality of teaching.



The situation of extension programs has been a controversial problem for years. During the next few years, the number of would-be applicants will increase. Those already employed will continue to improve their qualifications. Among the applicants there will also be some graduates of three-year Higher Pedagogical Schools and a considerable number of women graduates from two-year junior colleges.

Extension students have long pointed out to the weaknesses of their program. Their observations have been confirmed by a report prepared by two employees of the Institute of Scientific Policy, Technological Progress and Higher Schools. Having compared theoretical guidelines with the actual situation of the extension programs for teachers, the authors of the report, Alicja Kotusiewicz and Henryka Kwiatkowska, point out that those programs in their present state do not reflect the needs of the school system, currently under revision, and thus are unable to train teachers for the new system. There is a gap between teaching methods in the programs and the students' needs. The programs focus only on theory; there is no methodology of self-education taught; and the relationships between the students and the administration as well as the choice of the faculty and the selection of topics for final projects leave much room for improvement.

To be sure, it is impossible to improve everything at once in such a complex area as the school system's cadre policy. But is not there an unnecessary delay in reaching certain decisions?

9852

CSO: 2600/558

## DIFFICULTIES OF YOUNG GENERATION VIEWED

Warsaw PERSPEKTYWY in Polish No 9, 16 Apr 82 pp 8, 9

[Article by Henryk Maziejuk: "The Flutter of Wings Could Be Heard"]

[Text] The crisis left its mark on the entire society, but perhaps most intensively on the young generation, whose ideas of life and expectations clashed painfully with the denaturalized aspect of that life and created a state of disillusionment and frustration. There are those who say that "now they do not believe anyone or anything."

Thus, society is faced with no small task in rebuilding the confidence of young people in the success of deeds and the possibility of achieving a normal life. I think that questions on the subject of how long, at what cost and the results with which our country will emerge out of the crisis, basically affect young people, their future and their tasks.

It appears from conversations and observations that young people are having great difficulty in getting over what happened. I would call this a dual disappointment. The first one was caused by years of a gap between words and deeds; they were the ones that delivered the most painful blow to the ideals brought from the school bench. The second disappointment, interrupted by the introduction of martial law, was born on the wave of the post-August elation. Young people believed in good intentions, they trusted the leaders, they became more active than ever before, they wanted Poland improved in the belief that we would soon become a country of prosperity and of universal justice. However, before they could even become oriented to the fact that the post-August game in which they constituted the driving force was not about them or their accumulated problems, but about the interests of groups which wanted to seize as much as possible for themselves, it was then too difficult to retreat. The impatience caused by good intentions which is so typical of young people, left very many of them in a difficult situation.

## A Lost Opportunity?

Under the pressure of conflicting tendencies many young people have shut themselves up inside themselves; they became silent, passive and self-protective, Zbigniew Hanff, a miner-rescue worker at the Staszic KWK [hard-coal

mine] in Katowice said that "their heads are drooping, their backs are up, they are locked up in themselves and they are waiting." Thus, they have selected a kind of an "internal emigration" for themselves. This condition will undoubtedly pass in time, and they will get over it just like the measles or the mumps, though it could be that traces will linger for a long time with some of them. Others have already recovered, and with the hope and confidence proper to the young are gathering momentum in social activities. Still others are becoming restless, and manifesting lack of confidence vis-a-vis the authorities and the party. Still others, negate everything, or are even aggressive. There even are those who try to play at conspiracy. These choose the worst of the worst.

It is said of them that they are the generation of lost opportunity. I believe that is too strong a description, and that this particular generation, entangled in conflicts and difficulties like no other generation, manipulated by the right and by the left, implicated in strife, will find itself and will yet play a key role because it is capable of doing that. It is the most numerous group in the history of the PRL [Polish People's Republic], and will for a long time still constitute the nucleus of Polish society.

It came into being in a situation that was difficult for itself and for the country. When it was taking its first steps, and when it was growing up, it kept the planners and the politicians awake at night. Toward the end of the 1960s and in the 1970s, every year about a half million graduates of all types of schools were ready to go to work. By an enormous effort by the state, and thus the older generations, it was possible to assure these very numerous age groups first, access to schools and then, jobs, and to avoid the actual unemployment that threatened. At present, the largest group of workers, in the 18 to 29 age group, consists of vocational school graduates (altogether more than 40 percent), while those who are finishing their elementary school education occupy third place (about 22 percent). The secondary school graduating group is also larger (about 24 percent)

Another thing which reflected adversely on young people, is the fact that their vocational and specialized qualification frequently were not matched with employment offers and the needs of the economy. The importance of this problem is evidenced by the fact that not much more than 50 percent of young workers are employed in occupational fields consistent with their training and qualifications, while in the cases of high school graduates, this index is still lower because it reaches 40 percent.

Social expectations also activate the system under which the problem of assuring work for young age groups was resolved. It was based mainly on pushing investments, as a rule costly, large, poorly planned and executed investments which did not properly influence the market. The dragon was devouring his own tail; industry geared itself to service industry and neglected the production of production means. Too many people went to offices and to indirect elements, while too few engaged in services, trade and agriculture. With the passage of time therefore, it became necessary to stand in queues for everything. The queue for a place to live in is now the longest; more than 2 million married couples have waited in it an average of 15 years.

Deprived of prospects in agriculture, young people fled to the cities, tempted by greater earnings and normal work hours. Old parents remained on the farms, while the queues for everything in the cities became longer. From 1975 to 1980 more than 1.4 million young people emigrated from farms to cities. Their loss could not be made up by technology, while the decline in social life in the village was also large. Thus, while agriculture was losing and the village was declining socially, industry was getting a cheap labor force and inordinately expanded investment, while a deluge of problems requiring solutions began to swamp the cities. There is no doubt that urbanization of Poland during this period was excessive.

#### Closed Roads

The path to advancement, both vertical and horizontal was closing for young people. Is it strange that ambitious young people, better qualified for a vocation than their predecessors, pushed for positions in their occupational fields and in social life? That is normal, but bad, because there were no mechanisms in effect for giving priority to enterprising, resourceful and diligent individuals with organizing and innovative abilities. Instead of that, work training continued to be important. It was necessary to wait patiently and serve out years of training, even if energy and the desire to make a showing with something better was being wasted, even if one grew rusty while young; it paid to wander and to frequently change jobs and masters. Advancement took place frequently through deals and protection, in a negative form of selection. Socially sensitive young people accepted this with clear disapproval, and they reacted in the same way to instances of injustice and lack of equality. How could peasant and working class young people reconcile their ideals of equality and the right to an equal start when the doors of secondary and higher schools began to be closed to them?

If about 50 percent of elementary school graduates are children of workers, and about 23 percent are of peasant parents, then the former constitute about 38 percent of general and technical high school students, while the latter account for not quite 10 percent; while the share of young people from intelligentsia and office worker families is more than 47 percent. The consequences of this system are also reflected in the queue for student ID cards. Thus, only every 15th to 20th child of worker family parents becomes a student, every 70th to 80th child of peasant family parents, while every 3d to 5th child of intellectual worker parents becomes a student.

This phenomenon has its antecedents, thus I do not intend to draw any overly hasty conclusions from this fact. Undoubtedly, things are not good with educational egalitarianism. Not because there are so few young people from worker and peasant families in those schools, or that they have lesser aspirations or capabilities, but mainly because for them, the roadblock to a higher school certificate or diploma are poorer conditions for fulfilling their needs and for getting a start.

I dare say that this state of affairs will have a bad impact in the future on culture and science. It will impoverish the social origin of the intelligentsia and strengthen lower middle class tendencies. These effects will cast their shadows on the entire social community for many, many years to come.



However, getting back to the heart of the problem, young people have had a surfeit of reasons for severely criticizing the phenomena which looked different in propaganda and textbooks than in reality, and are even in conflict with the system's assumptions. Someone very vividly described this breach of theory with practice, saying that slogans about youth were bandied about at the time in such a way that they grew gigantic wings. And then nothing could be heard but the flutter of wings. Fatigue, then discouragement and disillusionment followed. The flutter of wings subsided but the problem was not resolved.

But did it subside entirely? I do not believe it did because some people are rather lightly replacing slogans with others and are not honestly treating young people and their problems as an integral part of the entire society. Only consistent, honest treatment, divested of a facade that conceals words and spectacular actions, can lead to understanding and resolving the problems associated with the young generation, and to gaining its approval and participation in the realization of adopted programs.

#### What Kind of an Awakening?

It seems to me that a universal understanding is essential, and that the way out of the crisis, not only in the economic area, but in ideology, upbringing and culture as well, also means a struggle over young people. Struggle? Yes, because the problem is having young people wanting to and being able to believe in the meaning and ideals of socialism, and linking their future expectations with it. It was precisely this that was strongly emphasized by those participating in the deliberations during the Seventh Plenum of the PZPR Central Committee. "An ownerless field," said Gen W. Jaruzelski, "has become larger in the consciousness of a young person. It has become overgrown with weeds. Who knows if this is the source of their frustrations, an ideological wasteland into which the enemy has penetrated with such ease."

In other words, what is involved is having young people together with the entire society and on an equal footing, undertaking the repair of what was damaged, and against which they laid a claim, not only in August 1980, but also earlier.

What is the perspective that is involved here? The answer to that must be diligently sought. The government is continuing its efforts to that end. Appropriate young people's organizations, particularly the Union of Socialist Polish Youth and the Rural Youth Union are seeking the answer to that question. The party and political organizations are also seeking it.

"The responsibility," reads a resolution of the Seventh Plenum of the PZPR Central Committee, "for creating conditions for young people's action, and for the proper utilization of young people's cadres rests on the party. The young generation should take on greater responsibility for today and for the future of the country. Party echelons and organizations should help young people's socialist unions and create realistic conditions for their participation in being in charge."

The problem will also continue to come up for debate in the party Central Committee, because it will continue to exist for a long time. Therefore, I believe that the sense of these searches ought to boil down to an avoidance of

hasty, one-time actions, and the establishment and improvement of systematic actions that would constantly aim at the proper placement of young people in society; on rekindling their aspirations and satisfying their needs, as well as on their taking on the obligations resulting from the responsibility for the nation's destiny.

Noble words, but can there be others? Yes. There has been talk more than once, perhaps too frequently, about the unity of the rights and obligations of the young generation. However, the conditions for their fulfillment at the appropriate time were not created. If only for the vexing problem of promotions. It must be resolved. But in a way which, from top to bottom, will get the mechanisms of the cadre policy to function properly, so that they will award bonuses for qualifications, honesty, industry, initiative, a feeling of responsibility, skill in cooperating with people, and imagination, and that they will reject dependence, toadying, incompetence, servility and irresponsibility. In other words if such a change does not take place, particularly now when we must overcome the crisis, will not the words turn against us because they will not compensate in any way for the feeling of underestimation, injury and injustice?

It is important here to consider the predicament of young working people, as well as of the generation which is already stepping on the toes of its predecessors. There has never been a situation like it as yet: persons under 30 years of age constitute more than 50 percent of the total population, while among the working population, young workers up to 35 years of age, constitute more than 60 percent of the population. It is a situation for which we are envied by other countries, but one that we have as yet not made any appropriate use of. According to demographic forecasts, by the year 2000, 45 percent of Poland's population will consist of young people. I will add here that many of those who are being born now, people of the 1982 age group, when they are 18 years old, will be beginning to work actually at the turn of eras, in the 21st Century....

How are we to awaken and to capitalize on the powers and potentialities lying dormant in the young generation: What do young people themselves want? The answer can be provided in one breath: day nurseries, kindergartens, frequently schools, housing, books, clothing, things necessary for furnishing their own niche and raising children, and then--cars, vacations.... And that will be but half true. Because they also want to be treated as partners, they want to participate in resolving urgent problems which also directly affect them.

#### In Accordance With Input

I will repeat here once more that the unblocking of promotion possibilities has become a necessity of life, not only for the young generation but for society as a whole. This is already being done and Gen Wojciech Jaruzelski is frequently emphasizing the importance of this matter. Young people are taken into consideration more frequently than hitherto in the course of a cadre review, and they are being given high positions, and in the case of employees who have to give up their positions, their replacements often are young people. But this has to be done much more often and not just in troublesome situations.

For is it not wasteful to keep young, well-trained specialists, full of fervor and energy in the shadow, and to have positions for them blocked by persons much weaker than they? Without doing harm to the latter, it is necessary to take note of and to promote the former, and to do this when they are 30 or 35 years old, or hitting 40 because actually, that is the best age for the demonstration of capabilities. Later, it will be too late; when excessive carefulness, comfort, reluctance to innovate or take chances manifest themselves.

Let us look around us and see: is by chance our situation one in which young, critical people full of energy and enthusiasm who are yearning for success and an opportunity to demonstrate their skills, constitute our principal capital in pulling the country out of the crisis?

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CSO: 2600/560

## IMPROVEMENT OF MANAGERIAL TRAINING IN ECONOMICS DISCUSSED

Warsaw ZYCIE SZKOLY WYKSZEJ in Polish No 11, 1981 pp 41-48

[Article by Adam Zych, of the Voivodship Union of Labor Cooperatives in Tarnow: "Education of Economists vs. Economic Practice"]

[Text] Among factors determining rapid and complete implementation of the economic reform and the achievement of all the economic and social benefits resulting from it, of particular importance is the adoption of appropriate solutions and mechanics in the area of cadre policy. The task of this policy is to select the cadres in such a way as to fill managerial and independent positions with people who possess particularly high professional qualifications and exhibit an appropriate ideological and moral attitude. Thus, this type of cadre selection is, to some extent, the aim of—and not only the condition for—the economic reform. Moreover, promotion of highly qualified cadres is an expression of the practical implementation of the principle of social justice.

However, even the best mechanisms of cadre selection will prove ineffective and useless if we lack suitable cadre potential which could meet the increased requirements and tasks. And such potential can be created only as a result of an appropriate system of training and education of cadres.

It is in this area that a very important part is played by higher schools of economics whose graduates should provide the cadre potential which is the basis for the permanent and efficient functioning of the reformed economic system. Considering the permanent and fundamental nature of these changes in mechanisms of management, there seems to be an urgent need for a thorough analysis of heretofore existing programs and methods of instruction in higher schools of economics, with a simultaneous definition of the type of knowledge and skill which the graduates of such schools should acquire during the process of instruction. In general, changes in this area should be a fundamental nature, because there is—or at least there should be—a close connection and interdependence between the economic system and the methods of instruction in higher schools of economics. The actual weaknesses and irregularities which occurred during the previous years in our economic mechanism are among the main causes of the lack of a uniform and precisely defined concept of educating economists, of the low social status of this profession, etc.



Considering the fact that the economic reform assumes an increase in the role and importance of an enterprise in the national economy, and that such an enterprise will be completely independent, self-governing, and self-financed, we should anticipate a considerable increase in the demand for the management cadre of enterprises, and particularly for general managers. The practice up to now has been to fill the positions of general managers with graduates of higher technical schools; however, I am of the opinion that this is a serious error. Technical studies do not provide adequate preparation for managerial duties, because knowledge gained in these studies is, to a large extent, too technical in nature.

On the other hand, in the existing instructional programs of economic studies, too, there has been inadequate presentation of knowledge needed in the process of administration and management. This has resulted in a situation in which, to all intents and purposes, neither higher economic nor higher technical schools prepare their graduates adequately for managerial duties. Thus, there is an urgent need to fill this gap, while there is no doubt that it is the higher schools of economics that should implement appropriate changes in their programs of instruction.

The assumption that the main purpose of economic studies is to prepare professional cadres to perform managerial functions in the national economy considerably facilitates the preparation of a detailed program of these studies. The program should stress subjects which are closely related to economic practice, such as : organization and management, branch economics (of industry, trade, transportation, etc.), economics of an enterprise, accounting, and finance. There should be greater emphasis than heretofore on areas of knowledge which are of an auxiliary nature in economic studies. This applies particularly to three subjects.

First of all, in my opinion, students should be familiarized to a greater extent than heretofore with problems of technical sciences. This, of course, is not a simple matter in view of the enormous complexity of problems in these sciences. Therefore, an appropriate selection should be made here from the standpoint of the usefulness of familiarity with technical problems of management.

In my opinion, two factors should be considered in making this type of selection. Thus, an economist must have good knowledge of relationships between raw materials and other materials in our national economy. This is closely related to economic geography which is taught in our institutions of higher learning.

Problems of management are also closely related to knowledge of sociology, and particularly of sociology of labor. One cannot manage an enterprise properly without an ability to properly mold interpersonal relationships in a work place. This is even more necessary inasmuch as these relationships are of crucial importance to the entire economics of an enterprise, and particularly to the efficiency, quality, and regularity of work, etc.

Psychology of labor, which generally is not taught in higher schools of economics, is a subject whose knowledge is very useful in management. Assuming that the purpose of economic studies is to prepare graduates for managerial duties, the inclusion of psychology of labor in the program of instruction should be regarded as an absolute necessity.

One of the more difficult problems occurring in economic sciences is the linking of the theory of economics with practice. Some theoreticians speak with disfavor about economic practice, asserting that it does not at all "fit" the theoretical achievements of economics. Such views result in various kinds of concepts with regard to the program of educating economists. These concepts are based on the conviction that it is sufficient for a graduate of a higher school of economics to be familiar with the theoretical achievements of economic practice, and particularly of the mutual relationships between this practice and theory, is already a matter of his future professional career.

Such views are totally erroneous and even harmful, inasmuch as theory is but a generalization of practice.

Therefore, in instructional programs of higher schools of economics, the emphasis should be on subjects which provide knowledge of great practical value. Precisely such subjects as those mentioned above—organization and management, branch economics, economics of enterprises, finance, accounting, study of technology, sociology of labor, psychology of labor—should constitute the program core of economic studies.

This in no way means that subjects of a theoretical nature, such as, for example, political science or history of economic ideas, are to play a secondary role in the process of educating economists. Such an approach would obviously be an error. On the other hand, the idea is to put theoretical subjects in their proper place in the program of instruction. If we assume that economic theory is a generalization of economic practice, then it becomes obvious that study of economic sciences should begin with subjects which are closely related to practice, while theoretical problems should, so to speak, represent a recapitulation of practical knowledge. Only such an arrangement of the program will make the relationship between theory and practice obvious to the student, thus giving the latter an opportunity to acquire the capability for independent and critical thinking. And so, the discrepancy between theoretical and practical sciences is, to a large extent, more apparent than real.

Methodological considerations also favor the idea of beginning one's studies with practical sciences. These sciences are easier for the student to master than are theoretical sciences which operate with a complex vocabulary and already require many detailed studies of problems.

Implementation of basic changes in the process of instruction with regard to the function and role of student practicum is one of the factors which would insure keener perception of economic problems by students of higher schools of economics.

If we consider the fact that various kinds of phenomena and regularities occurring in economic life are the subject of study in higher schools of economics, it is obvious that the student should first become familiar with the real-life nature of these phenomena, which in turn provides a point of departure for an appropriate expansion of knowledge, for classifying and grouping the phenomena, for formulating conclusions and generalizations, etc. This is even more necessary if we assume that the main purpose of economic studies is to prepare graduates for managerial duties.

The low status assigned heretofore to professional practicum, the latter being regarded to a large extent as a purely formal matter which has no impact on the student's program of studies, is the reason why students encounter serious problems in mastering a large part of the lecture material. This applies both to so-called vocational subjects (e.g., economics of an enterprise, accounting, etc.) and—to an even greater extent—to purely theoretical subjects. It is no wonder, therefore, that the student community considers economic sciences to be rote-memory sciences, for whose mastery there is absolutely no need of such traits as ability to think logically, to associate different facts, to look for interdependence between phenomena, etc. I think that this current opinion is largely justified, which results mainly from divorcing the instructional system in higher schools of economics from the existing economic reality. From a purely instructional standpoint, this is contrary to the principle of visuality in instruction; as a consequence, a considerable portion of time devoted by the student to the acquisition of knowledge is, properly speaking, time which is wasted.

In my opinion, this explains the discrepancy between a student's academic record and his later usefulness in professional work—this discrepancy being fairly typical for economic studies. A quite frequently observed phenomenon is that of students with mediocre academic records being rated very highly in their professional work after graduation, and, viceversa, of good students often turning out to be completely unprepared for all kinds of duties during their practicum.

It is obvious that such discrepancies cannot be wholly avoided; on the other hand, if these discrepancies become almost the rule, appropriate conclusions should be drawn from them with regard to the methods and system of education.

The enormous complexity of economic phenomena causes many problems and difficulties in introducing them in practice to students of economics. Therefore, an appropriate selection of phenomena from the standpoint of elimination of secondary and nonessential factors is of course necessary. However, the problem consists in making a correct and fairly objective selection.

The student's understanding of the mechanism of operation of an enterprise is, in my opinion, a matter of fundamental importance. This, precisely, should be the goal of the initial (introductory) practicum, the latter to be completed by the students already during their first year of studies. Understanding the essence of an enterprise is a condition for further specialization and expansion of economic knowledge and for familiarization with laws and regularities which govern economic development. After all, it is not a coincidence that in the assumptions for the economic reform the focus is precisely on the enhancement of the status of an independent and self-governing enterprise in the national economy.

An appropriate selection of the work place is necessary if the student is to understand the mechanism of operation of an enterprise. From this standpoint the best, in my opinion, are relatively small enterprises whose technology of production is not too complex. In this type of work place, which has all the traits of an enterprise, the mechanisms governing its operation are most visible. On the other hand, in large work places (e.g., in factories) the interrelationships and interdependences between separate operational services and units are so complex that even long-time employees do not have a clear idea of how the entire plant operates. All the more so, it is an error—and one which is often encountered—to assign students to this type of plants for practicum aimed at familiarizing them with the mechanisms of operation of an enterprise. On the other hand, specialized practicum, within a strictly defined sphere of activity of an enterprise, can already take place in large industrial plants.

In order for a practicum to properly fulfill its functions and tasks, the former cannot take place in isolation from individual subjects taught in an institution of higher learning, because then it becomes a kind of a separate subject which is treated on an equal basis with other subjects. Such an approach to student practicum in higher schools of economics is a serious error and distorts the whole idea of what a practicum should be like. Indeed, the purpose of a practicum is to enable a student to confront theoretical knowledge with a real-life situation. Obviously, such a confrontation is absolutely necessary, first of all, with respect to vocational-type subjects, such as accounting, economics of an enterprise, branch economics, finance, etc. Therefore, each one of these subjects should consist both of a theoretical and a practical part, which together determine the acquisition of definite knowledge by the student.

Thus, student practicum should not take place in isolation from individual subjects taught at an institution of higher learning, which occurs at present, but should be closely related to these subjects. The acceptance of this principle would of course increase the length and frequency of practicum; however, this seems absolutely necessary.

Generalizing the above remarks, one can therefore assert that any actions aimed at improving the quality of instruction in higher schools of economics should begin with the establishment of a close relationship between economic practice and the problems which have been presented to



students during lectures and seminars. Such an approach in no way implies any lowering of the level of economic studies. Quite the contrary: by stressing the practical aspect of economic problems we, on one hand, create for our economy an adequately prepared professional cadre, while, on the other hand, this provides an opportunity for some graduates to engage in theory-based research activities. By gearing our programs in advance to education of "theoreticians," we only produce discontent and frustration in a large group of graduates who see no relation between what they were taught in an institution of higher learning and what is really needed in professional work.

At least two conditions must be met if the above changes in the very concept of economic studies are to be implemented. First, economists must be given appropriate rank and status in our national economy. This is not meant as simply a pledge but as an actual increase in the influence of an economist on all kinds of decisions which are made both in an enterprise and at other levels of management. The economic reform is supposed to introduce basic changes in this area, with the provision, however, that the strengthening of the position of an economist in an enterprise should occur as a result of long-range changes and re-evaluations.

The second factor determining the improvement in the quality of education of an economist is the teaching cadres approach to this problem. Therefore, the basic increase in the influence of economic practice on trends of educating economists should be regarded as a necessary pre-condition for charting the appropriate paths of development for our economy.

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BOOK OF MATERIALS FROM SESSION ON IDEOLOGY REVIEWED

Warsaw SPRAWY MIĘDZYNARODOWE in Polish No 7, Jul 81 pp 164-165

[Review by a. z. of book IDEOLOGIA A WSPÓŁCZESNE STOSUNKI MIĘDZYNARODOWE [IDEOLOGY AND CONTEMPORARY INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS], Silesian University, Katowice, 1981, 242 pages]

[Text] This work contains material from a 1979 symposium on ideology in contemporary international relations. Its first part is comprised of papers of a general nature, dealing with ideology and other determiners of state foreign policy, the place of ideology in contemporary international relations, the form and substance of ideological phenomena in these relations, and the international legal responsibility of states for their propaganda activity. The second part contains papers touching upon, i.a.; aspects of the functioning of ideology in a socialist system, questions of ideology in the program of the Italian Communist Party, international aspects of internal transformations in Algeria, and "upbringing for peace" and ideological confrontation.

The papers presented differ with respect to the degree of generality of their formulated theses and the scope of the problems discussed. They contain theoretical lines, propose certain methodological decisions, and indicate the role and meaning of ideology in contemporary international relations through an analysis of specific phenomena and political processes. The common feature of these papers is an orientation which takes as its point of departure the established principles of historical materialism and materialistic dialectic.

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## RESICH BOOK ON INTERNATIONAL HUMAN RIGHTS REVIEWED

Warsaw SPRAWY MIEDZYNARODOWE in Polish No 7, Jul 81 pp 166-167

[Review by a. z. of book MIEDZYNARODOWA OCHRONA PRAW CZLOWIEKA [THE INTERNATIONAL PROTECTION OF HUMAN RIGHTS] by Zbigniew Resich, Polish Scientific Publishers [PWN] Warsaw, 1981, 167 pages]

[Text] The author has attempted to answer the question of whether the postulates contained in the excerpt of the UN Charter which reads: "to restore faith in basic human rights, in the dignity and value of the individual, in equal rights for men and women, in the equality of large and small nations" have been implemented. After a discussion of the character of human rights and freedoms, the distribution of these rights, the principles of sovereignty and international legal order in the field of human rights protection, and the system of human rights protection in the UN Charter, [the author] makes a thorough study of the documents dealing with this problem which have been prepared by the UN. These are: the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, which Z. Resich describes as a document of the highest importance; the Human Rights Pacts, which constitute the second line in the hierarchy of norms of international law which deal with human rights; and more specialized and concretized legal acts, e.g., the convention on the prevention and punishment of genocide, the convention on the non-application of statutory limitations to war crimes and crimes against humanity, conventions on international humanitarian law, children's and youth's rights, women's rights, etc. These are the documents, says the author, which comprise the international legal system of human rights protection. However, as this work demonstrates, the scope and efficiency of this system are limited, and the shortcomings of the system are revealed in practice. Therefore, the system for protecting these rights must continually be improved--which is one of the UN's main tasks.

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